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NOT TO BE ISSUED HISTORY

OF THE



DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

BY EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.



IN TWELVE VOLUMES

VOL VII.

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PREFACE



I now discharge my promise, and complete my design of writing the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, both in the West and the East. The whole period extends from the age of Trajan and the Antonines, to the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II; and includes a review of the crusades and the state of Rome during the middle ages. Since the publication of the first volume, twelve years have elapsed; twelve years, according to my wish, " of health, of beia sure, and of perseverance." I may now congratulate my deliverance from a long and laborious service, and my satisfaction will be pure and perfect, if the public fayour should be extended to the conclusion of my work.

Alreiding to the Quarter Edition, in which were the Wink was ariginally published.

It was my first intention to have collected, under one view, the numerous authors, of every age and language, from whom I have derived the materials of this history; and I am still convinced that the apparent estentation would be more than compensated by real use. If I have renonneed this idea; if I have declined an undertaking which had obtained the approbation of a master-artist," my excuse may be found in the extreme difficulty of assigning a proper measure to such a catalogue. A naked list of names and editions would not be satisfactory either to myself or my readers; the characters of the principal Authors of the Roman and Byzantine History have been occasionally connected with the events which they describe; a more copious and critical inquiry might indeed deserve, but it would demand, an elaborate volume, which might swell by degrees into a general library of historical writers. For the present I shall content myself with renewing my serious protestation, that I have always endea-

^{*} See Dr. Billiotten's Preface to his History of America.

that my curiosity, as well as a sense of duty, has always urged me to study the originals; and that, if they have sometimes chided my search, I have carefully marked the secondary evidence, on whose faith a passage or a fact were reduced to depend.

I shall soon revisit the banks of the lake of Lausanne, a country which I have known and loved from my early youth. Under a mild government, amidst a beauteous landskip, in a life of leisure and independence, and among a people of easy and elegant manners, I have enjoyed, and may again hope to enjoy, the varied pleasures of retirement and society. But I shall ever glory in the name and character of an Englishman: I am proud of my birth in a free and enlightened country; and the approbation of that country is the best and most honourable reward of my labours. Were I ambitious of any other patron than the Public, I would inscribe this work to a Statesman, who, in a long, a storing,



and at length an unfortunate administration, had many political opponents, almost without a personal enemy; who has retained, in his fall from power, many faithful and disinterested friends; and who, under the pressure of severe infirmity, enjoys the lively vigour of his mind, and the felicity of his incomparable temper. Lour Noarn will permit me to express the feelings of friendship in the language of truth; but even truth and friendship should be silent, if he still dispensed the favours of the crown.

In a remote solitude, vanity may still whisper in my ear, that my readers, perhaps, may inquire, whether, in the conclusion of the present work. I am now taking an everlasting farewel. They shall bear all that I know myself, all that I could reveal to the most intimate friend. The motives of action or silence are now equally balanced; nor can I pronounce in my most secret thoughts, on which side the scale will preponderate. I cannot dissemble that Six ample Quartes must have

tried, and may have exhausted, the indulgence of the Public; that in the repetition of similar attempts, a successful Auther has much more to lose, than he can hope to gain; that I am now descending into the vale of years; and that the most respectable of my countrymen, the men whom I aspire to imitate, have resigned the pen of history about the same period of their lives. Yet I consider that the annals of ancient and modern times may afford many rich and interesting subjects : that I am still possessed of health and leisure; that by the practice of writing, some skill and facility must be acquired; and that, in the ardent pursuit of truth and knowledge, I am not conscious of decay. To an active mind, indolence is more painful than labour; and the first months of my liberty will be occupied and amused in the excursions of curiosity and taste. By such temptations, I have been sometimes seduced from the rigid duty even of a pleasing and voluntary task: but my time will now be my own; and in the use or abuse of independence, I shall no longer fear my own reproaches or those of my friends. I am fairly entitled to a year of jubilee: next summer and the following winter will rapidly pass away: and experience only can determine whether I shall still prefer the freedom and variety of study to the design and composition of a regular work, which animates, while it confines, the daily application of the Author. Caprice and accident may influence my choice; but the dexterity of self-love will contrive to applied either active industry, or philosophic repose.

DOWNING STREET,

P. S. I shall embrace this apportunity of introducing two verbal remarks, which have not conveniently offered themselves to my notice. 1. As often us I use the definitions of beyond the Alps, the Rhine, the Danube, &c. I generally suppose myself at Rome, and afterwards at Constantinople; without observing whether this relative geography may agree with the lacal, but suriable, situation of the reader, or the hist rian 2. In proper names of foreign, and especially of oriental origin, it should be always our aim to express in our English version, a faithful copy of the original. But this rule, which is founded on a just regard to uniformity and truth, must often be relexed; and the exceptions will be limited or enlarged by the custom of the language and the taste of the interpreter. Our Alphabets may be often defective : a harsh sound, an uncouth spelling, might offend the ear or the eye of our countrymen; and some words, notoriously corrupt, are fixed, and, as it were, naturalized in the vulgar tongue. The prophet Mohammed can no longer be stripped of the famous, though improper, appellation of Malemet; the wellknown cities of Aleppo, Damuscus, and Calea, would almost be lost in the strange descriptions of Hatch, Damuskk, and At Cahira; the titles and offices of the Ottoman empire are fashioned by the practice of three hundred years; and we are pleased to blend the three Chim-e manosyllables, Con-fil-txee, in the respectable name of Confucius, or even to adopt the Portuguese corruption of Mandarin. But I would vary the use of Zoroaster and Zerdusht, as I drew my information from Greece or Persia: since our connection with India, the gennine Timour is restored to the throne of Tamerlane: our most correct writers have retrenched the Al, the superfluous article, from the Koran: and we escape an ambiguous termination, by adopting Mostera instead of Mussulman, in the plural number. In these, and in a thousand examples, the shades of distinction are often minute; and I can feel, where I cannot explain, the motives of my choice.

^{*}At the sed of the History, the trades will find a grown today to the whole Work, which has been drawn up by a person frequency temployed to works of this pattern.



....

SEVENTH VOLUME.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Lens and Anaccacies, emperors of the East-Birth, oliverstam, and first explains of Throdorm the Ostrogath—
His invarian and company of study—The Gothic hagdom of Study—State of the West-Military and coulgovernment—The senator Baschins—Last acts and doubt
of Throdoric.

4.6	Page
A. O. 455-475 Brans and education of Theodoric,	-
474-401 The reign of Zeno,	
491-518 The reign of Ametroine,	
473-488 Service and revolt of Theodoric,	- 55
450 He undertakes the conquest of Italy, -	0
His imrch,	21
489-400 The three defeats of Odosser, -	. 13
403 Hir capitulation and death,	15
693-526 Reign of Theulacic, king of Italy,	- 16
Partition of lands,	- 17
Separation of the Goths and Italians, -	- 30
Famiga policy of Theodoric,	- 20
His defensive wars,	- 23
509 His paval armaments,	24

Page

	Capper
A. C. St. A. Mills of the Women	
300 Civil gavarament of Italy according to the Roman	25
laws, the same of	
Prosperity of Rome.	212
500 Vint of Uncodarie,	20
Flourishing state of Italy,	33
Throdoric an Arius	375
His teleration of the catholics, + +	180%
Vises of his government,	-35
He is provoked to presente the catholica,	3411
Character, studies, and bannars of Burthine, -	1411
His putriotion,	45
He is accused of treasure,	47
The particular of death	8.9
246 His imprisonment and death,	50
525 Death of Symmachus,	10.
220 Remove and death of Therefore,	LANCE
CHAP, XL	
CHILDREN	
and the first of the first of the	10.2
	20000
Ellmation of Justin the rider-Reign of Justin	eierus.
I. The smarces Thunders-II. Factoret of the	CHECKE,
L. The superest Theodora—II. Factories of the and section of Constantinople—III. Frade and	mman-
L. The superest Thurston-II. Factors of the and sedicion of Constantineph-III. Frade and factors of sith-IV. Finances and there-V. I	munu- Edificus
L. The superest Thurston-II. Factors of the and sedicion of Constantineph-III. Frade and factors of sitt-IV. Sincures and there-V. I of Justinian-Church of St. Sophic-Forestension	munu- munu- Edificos ur ana
I. The empress Thumbra—II. Factors of the and sedimen of Constantinophi—III. Trade and factors of eith—IV. Emanter and tenes—V. I of Januara—Church of St. Sophia—Forefactors franciers of the eastern empire—VI. Modition	munu- munu- Edificos ur ana
I. The empress Thumbra—II. Factors of the and sedimen of Constantinophi—III. Trade and factors of eith—IV. Emanter and tenes—V. I of Januara—Church of St. Sophia—Forefactors franciers of the eastern empire—VI. Modition	munu- munu- Edificos ur ana
L. The superest Thurston-II. Factors of the and sedicion of Constantineph-III. Frade and factors of sitt-IV. Sincures and there-V. I of Justinian-Church of St. Sophic-Forestension	errus, munn- Edificus is una if the
L. The superest Theodora—II. Factories of the and sedicion of Constantinople—III. Frade and factors of silk—IV. Binamest and inco.—V. I of Justinian—Church of St. Sophia—Foredication frontiers of the eattern empire—VI. Abeliana wheels of Athens, and the consulting of Rome. 3. 15.	muns- Edificus is and of the
L. The superest Theodora—II. Factories of the and sedicion of Constantinople—III. Frade and factors of silk—IV. Binamest and some—V. I of Justinian—Church of St. Sophia—Foredication frontiers of the eattern empire—VI. Abelians wheele of Athene, and the consulting of Rome. A. th. 452 or 46.8 Bigth of the supercon Justinian,	munu- munu- Edificus is and of the Pop-
L. The superest Theorem - II. Factors of the and sedicion of Constantinople - III. Frade and factors of silk - IV. Binamest and inco V. I of Justinian - Charch of St. Sophia - Foredension frontiers of the eastern empire - VI. Modition whose of Athene, and the consulting of Rome. A. th. 452 or 463 Bigth of the superce Justinian, 516-527 Elevation and reign of his uncile Justin I,	munus different of the Property
L. The superest Theorem - II. Factors of the and sedicion of Constantinople - III. Frade and factors of silk - IV. Binamest and inco V. I of Justinian - Charch of St. Sophia - Foredension frontiers of the eastern empire - VI. Modition whose of Athene, and the consulting of Rome. A. th. 452 or 463 Bigth of the superce Justinian, 516-527 Elevation and reign of his uncile Justin I,	munus different of the Property
L. The superest Theodora—II. Factors of the and reduces of Constant ample—III. Frade and factors of silk—IV. Since on and inco-V. I of factors—Course of St. Sophic—Forthering frances of the eastern empire—VI. Medition which if Athens, and the constituin of Rome. A. D. 422 or 463 Biggs of the emperor Justinian, 516-527 Elevation and reign of his uncle Justin I, 526-527 Adoption and succession of Justinian,	munus different of the Property
L. The superest Theodora—II. Factors of the and reduces of Constant ample—III. Frade and factors of silk—IV. Since on and inco-V. I of factories—Course of St. Sophic—Forthconies franciers of the eastern empire—VI. Medition which if Athens, and the constitute of Rome. A. D. 422 or 463 Biggs of the emperor Justinian, 515-527 Elevation and reign of his uncle Justin I, 526-527 Adaption and succession of Justinian, 537-565 The reign of Justinian,	manuscript and the Property Selection Selectio
L. The superest Theodora—II. Foresteet of the and redition of Constantinople—III. Frade and facture of sith—IV. Sincener and three—V. I of factures of sith after empire—VI. Medition wheele if Athene, and the constituin of Rome. A. D. 452 or 46.5 Biggs of the emperor Justinian, 516-527 Elevation and reign of his uncite Justin 1, 526-527 Adaption and succession of Justinian, 517-665 The reign of Justinian, Character and Insperies of Procession.	manuscript and free a
L. The superest Theodora—II. Factors of the and section of Constant ample—III. Frade and factors of sith—IV. Since on the lare—V. I of factors of sith and of St. Sophic—Forthconies fractors of the cattern countre—VI. Modition wheels of Athens, and the completity of Rome. 2. 11. 222 or 483. Bight of the superce Justinian, 515-527 Elevation and reign of his uncile Justin I, 526-527 Adoption and succession of Justinian, Character and histories of Procession, Division of the reign of Justinian,	manuscript and of the Property of the St.
L. The superest Theodora—II. Factors of the and sedicion of Constantarophe—III. Frade and factors of silk—IV. Since and there—V. I of Januaren—Chared of St. Sophie—Forthersion franciers of the eastern consist—VI. Rollina who for of Alderse, and the completity of Rome. A. II. 422 or 48.8 Bigth of the emperce Justinian, 516-527 Elevation and reign of his arche Instinia, 526-527 Adoption and succession of Instinian, Character and histories of Procephia, Division of the reign of Justinian, Birth and vices of the ampurest Physiches,	munp. Salificon to and the the
L. The superest Theodora—II. Factions of the and sedicion of Constantinople—III. Frade and facture of silk—IV. Sinamest and theore—V. I of Justinian—Charek of St. Sophic—ForeScarles franciers of the eastern consist—VI. Boldina and off of Alders, and the consulting of Rome. A. th. 422 or 48.5 Bigth of the emperod Justinian, 515-527 Elevation and reign of his uncle lumin I, 526-527 Adoption and succession of Justinian, Character and histories of Processins, Division of the reign of Justinian, Birth and vices of the ampure Theodora, Her marriage with Justinian,	manus and the transfer of
L. The superest Theodora—II. Faction of the and sedicion of Constantinople—III. Frade and facture of silk—IV. Sinamest and there—V. I of Justinian—Charek of St. Sophic—Foresterior franciers of the eastern consist—VI. Bolitina and sit of Alders, and the consulting of Rome. k. ti. 422 or 48.5 Bigth of the emperod Justinian, 516-527 Adoption and reign of his uncle lumin I, 526-527 Adoption and succession of Justinian, Character and histories of Processin, Division of the reign of Justinian, Birth and vices of the ampure Theodora, Har marriage with Justinian, Her tyranny,	munp. Selffers to analy f the the the
L. The superest Theodora—II. Faction of the and sedimen of Communicapie—III. Frade and facture of silk—IV. Sinamest and super—V. I of Justinian—Charek of St. Sophie—Foresterior franciers of the eastern consist—VI. Bolitina and off of the eastern consist—VI. Bolitina and off of the eastern consistency of Rome. A. th. 422 or 48.5 Bigth of the emperor Justinian, 516-527 Adoption and reign of his uncle lumin I, 526-527 Adoption and succession of Justinian, Character and histories of Processin, Division of the reign of Justinian, Birth and vices of the ampure Theodora, Her marriage with Justinian, Her tyranny,	Property of the Property of th

CONTENTS	1
CR.	Pega
My The factions of the circus, -	15
Av Rome	31
They distract Consumminople and the East,	II.
Institute favours the blues, -	18
5.02 Sedition of Constantinople, surnamed Nika,	81
The distress of fusions,	199
Firmes of Theodorn,	-56
Trible and the form of the control o	87
Agriculture and manufactures of the eastern small	HE, 163
The use of nik by the Romans,	30
Importation from China by land and sez,	93
Introduction of all-worms into Greece,	ST
State of the covenue.	100
Avarice and profusion of Justinian,	TOT.
Pernicious savings,	103
Remittances,	Hs.
Tana	105
Monopolies,	100
Vendity,	107
Testaments,	The
The ministers of Justinian,	109
Tehn of Cappodotin,	ibs
Tile offices and architects,	112
Foundation of the church of St. Suplita,	116
Description,	1111
Muchley,	130
Riches,	137
Churches and palates, - + -	141
Casifications of Europe.	125
to the set Asia of the charge of the sentence of the sentence of	HID:
Fertifications of the empire, from the Easing to	the:
Person fronting	- CO.
458 Death of Permes, king of Persia,	110
50t-505 The Penish wat,	138
Verticenium of Data,	129
The Caspien or Iberian guter,	140
The schools of Athens,	LOI
They are suppressed by Institute, "	148
Proclus,	140

A 2

A.D.			Page
455-529 His extensit,	2	- 4	150
The last of the philosophers,	961	V-15/11/	131
511 The Russus consolably extinguished	by J	estinian,	152

CHAP, XLL

Comparity of Justinian in the West-Character and first compages of Belivorius-He invades and subdues the Vandal kingdom of Africa-His termph-The Contac wor-He recover Sixty, Napies, and Rome-Siege of Rome by the Goths-There recreat and hisser-Surrender of Ravenna-Glory of Belisarias-His domestic shame and misfortance.

A-ff.	Page
535 Justinian resolves to invade Africa,	155
523-530 State of the Vandala, Hilderic, .	156
500-534 Gelliner,	157
Debutes on the African war,	150
Character and choice of Belinging +	Isi
529-532 His services in the Peniso war, -	300
532 Preparations for the African war,	364
Departure of the fleet.	107
Belimeins lands on the coult of Africa, -	171
Definite the Vandala in a first buttle,	474
Reduction of Corthago,	377
Final defeat of Geliner and the Vandala,	181
534 Compant of Africa by Belimrini, + -	186
Distress and captivity of Gelliner,	180
Return and triamph of Belliarius,	3.00
525 His role consulship.	195
End of Gelimer and the Vandalag	105
Minmers and defeat of the Maurs	108
Neutrality of the Visigoths,	402
550-020 Compacts of the Romans in Sprin, -	208
354 Belliutius threatons the Ostrogoths in Italy,	204
5.22-534 Government and death of Amalasontha, que	en.
of Italy.	20%

CHAP, XLIL

State of the burbaria world—Establishment of the Lonbards on the Danube—Tribes and invade of the Scientnians—Drigin, empire, and embassies of the Turks—The Hight of the Awars—Charace I, in Naukirana, king of Persia—His prospersus reign and quare with the Romans —The Calchian on Lange war.—The Ethiopians.

A. B.		Fage.
Seri-365 Weakness of the empire of Juninian,		210
Seate of the barbarians,	365	型工作
The Gopidar,	0	ib.
The Lombards, -	+	1174
The Sclavemans,		277
Their inmads,	2	281
545 Origin and monarchy of the Turks in Asia,		284
The Avars by before the Turks, and approach	h the	
empire,	(4)	289
343 Their eathursy to Constantinopic, .	(4)	BRI
560-582 Embassies of the Turks and Romans,	4	EUS
50g-530 State of Perits,		207
511-570 Reign of Nushirvan, or Chostocs,		300
His love of learning,		303
533-538 Pence and war with the Romans,	4	307
540 He mynder Syria,	3	311
And miss Antioch,	120	1912
541 Defence of the East by Belliurius,	8	215
Description of Colches, Letter, or Mingralle	a l	318
Manues of the entires,	12	322
Revolution of Colider,		325
Umler the Persians, before Christ, 500,	0	ih.
Under the Romans, before Chart, on,		520
		533
110 Visit of Arinn,		928
522 Conversion of the Lari,		300
542-540 Revolt and regentance of the Colchism		#31
549-553 Siege of Petm, - *		-

CONTENTS	2397
A.D.	Page
540-556 The Catchian or Lorie war,	334
54 -501 Negotiations and treaties between Justinian at	nit
Charmet, + % - *	331
522 Companies of the Abyumians,	240
533 Their elliunce with Juninian,	153
CHAP, XLIIE	
CHAC ALLE	
WALLEST AND WATER CONTRACTOR OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY	-
Rebellione of Africa-Restreation of the Gothie his	PROVE
by Totilo-Last and recovery of Rime-Final congs	CHI ST
haly by Naties - Estimetion of the Giragothi - Def	PAZ SZ
the Franks and Alemann-Less vacury, disprace	al III
death of Belliarius-Death and character of James	12171
Cornets, carthquaker, and player.	
A.D.	Yago.
535-545 The troubles of Africa,	IF46
543-558 Rebellion of the Moore,	351
540 Revolt of the Guths, + + +	353
541-544 Victories of Totile, king of Italy,	355
Contract of Greek vice and Gothic wirther, -	357
544-532 Second command of Beliavine in Haly,	380
540 Rome beninged by the Gotles, -	362
Attempt of Bellispins	339
Rome taken by the Goths,	200
347 Recovered by Bullimins,	DIO
548 Final recal of Belliating	373
And Reason and robot by the Corbs	374

543-551 Preparation of Junious for the Gothic way,

55 Defeat and shorth of Tolas, the last king of the

Lovesion of Italy by the Females and Alexander

554 Defeat of the Franks and Alemanni by Names.

552 Character and expedition of the smeath Names,

Defrat me death of Torila,

Gerlie,

554-508 Settlement of Italy,

Conquest of Kome by Names,

575

353

134

188

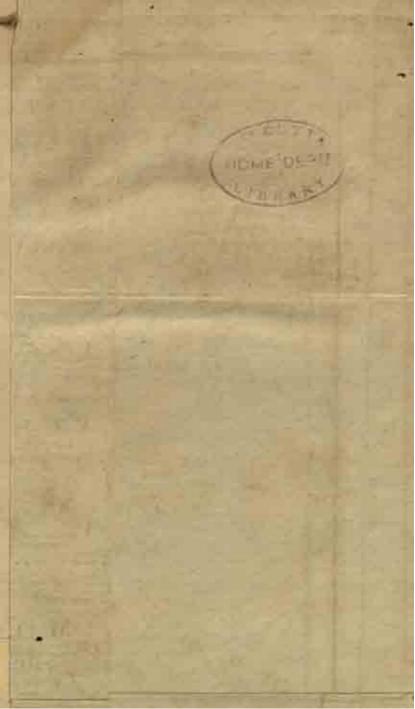
589

993

印度五

COSTERFS.

A.D.			Title
659 Invasion of the Bulgariana,	-	-	40 E
Last victory of Belivarius,	8.	8.	403
561 His disgrace and death; -	38.		405
565 Death and character of Justinian,			409
531-510 Counts,	100	- 51	912
Easthquikes,	-		415
542 Player-its origin and nature.	-	-	418
542-504 Extent and duration, -	27		400





HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OFTHE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAP, XXXIX

Zeno and Anastosias, emperors of the East—Birth, education, and first exploits of Theodoric the Ostrogath—His invasion and conquest of Holy—The Gother kingdom of Italy—State of the West—Military and cred government—The senutor Boethins—Lant extr and death of Theodoric.

Avera the fall of the Roman empire in CHAP. the West, an interval of fifty years, till the XXXIX memorable reign of Justinian, is faintly marked a. p. 476 by the obscure names and imperfect annals of far. Zeno, Anastasius, and Justin, who successively ascended the throne of Constantinople. During the same period, Italy revived and flourished under the government of a Gothic king, who might

vol. viii

CHAP.

Borth and admirtion of Titlesdouble A. D. 455-475.

have deserved a statue among the best and bravest of the ancient Romans.

Theodorie the Ostrogoth, the fourteenth in lineal descent of the royal line of the Amali," was born in the neighbourhood of Vienna," two years after the death of Attila. A recent victory had restored the independence of the Ostrogoths; and the three brothers, Walamir, Theodemic, and Widimir, who ruled that wartike nation with united counsels, had separately pitched their liabilitions in the fertile though desolate province of Pannonia. The Huns still threatened their revolted subjects, but their hasty attack was repelled by the single forces of Walamir, and the news of his victory renched the distant camp of his brother in the same auspicious moment that the favourite concuhine of Theodemir was delivered of a son and beir. In the eighth year of his age, Theodoric was reluctantly vielded by his father to the public interest, as the pledge of an alliance which Leo, emperor of the East, had consented to purchase by an annual subsidy of three hundred pounds of gold. The royal hostage was educated at Constantinople with care and tenderness. His body

* More egyverty on the highe of the lake Pelso, (Nationality-1904, earl Cathagains, almost us the same ages warre Marine Antonios emposed his modifications, (Foromatics, e. 22, p. 636. Souris, Parenna Huntralia, p. 22. Cellistics, Geograph. Actor. Souris, p. 230.

tras formed totall the exercises of war, his mind CHAT. was expanded by the linhits of liberal conversation: he frequented the schools of the most skilful musters; but he disdnined or neglected the arts of Greece, and so ignorant did he always remain of the first elements of science, that a rude mark was contrived to represent the signature of the illiterate king of Itidy. As soon as he had attained the age of eighteen, he was restored to the wishes of the Ostrogoths, whom the emperor aspired to gain by liberality and confidence. Walamir had fallen in battle; the youngest of the brothers, Widimir, had led away into Italy and Gaul on army of barbarians, and the whole nation acknowledged for their king the father of Theodoric. His feroclous subjects admired the strength and stature of their young prince of and he soon convinced them that he had not degenerated from the valour of his ancestors. At the head of six thousand volunteers. he secretly left the camp in quest of adventures, descended the Danube as far as Singidunum or Belgrade, and soon returned to his father with the spoils of a Sarmatian king whom he had vuoquished and slain. Such triumphs, however, were

The four live littlers of his same (Which is were complied on a gold place, and when it was fixed an the paper, the king dose has per through the hiterraly, chamyer Valentin, of Calcent Atten-Marienna, p. 722). This such mile for, with the is itiminy of Protopins, or it least of the contimposity Guite, (Gottee 1 is c. 2, p. 304), for corresigns the regar probes of france in Charles Opera. ter i, p. 1200; and Theophers, Chromovijta je 1186

^{*} Statten art que senignet presentate pegnantere, el worder, p. thinks. The history of Form /I mean the acclasizable with wished to he a history then presents to existents the complexion, even, Yanda. No. of Rivamerrigh.

XXXIX.

productive only of fame, and the invincible Ostrogoths were reduced to extreme distress by the want of clothing and food. They unanimously resolved to desert their Pannonian encomponents. and boldly to advance into the warm and wealthy neighbourhood of the Byzantine court, which already maintained in pride and luxury so many bands of confederate Goths. After proving by somenets of hostility that they could be dangerous, or at least troublesome, enemies, the Ostrogoths sold at a high price their reconciliation and fidelity, accepted a donative of lands and money, and were intrusted with the defence of the lower Danube, under the command of Theodoric, who succeeded after his father's death to the hereditucy throne of the Amuli."

The reign of Zeno. A. D. 478-401, Feli: Apr. 9. An hero, descended from a race of kings, must have despised the base Isaarian who was invested with the Romaii purple, without any endowments of mind or body, without any advantages of royal birth, or superior qualifications. After the failure of the Theodosian line, the choice of Pulcheria and of the senate might be justified in some measure by the characters of Martian and Leo, but the latter of these princes confirmed and dishonoured his reign by the perfidious murder of Aspar and his sons, who too rigorously exacted the debt of gratitude and obedience. The inheritance of Leo and of the East was peaceably

[&]quot;The stars of the Ostropetha, and the first pass of Theodorie, on found in Jurandon, or 32-56, p. 889-5669, and Maleton, a beengthered by 16-50, who prospensely types has the set of Walanda.

devolved on his infant grandson, the son of his CHAP daughter Ariadne; and her Isaurian husband, the XXXIX fortunate Trascalissons, exchanged that barbarous sound for the Grecian appellation of Zeno. After the decease of the elder Leo, he approached with unnatural respect the throne of his son, humbly received, as a gift, the second cank in the empire, and soon excited the public suspicion on the sadden and premature death of his young colleague, whose life could no longer promote the success of his ambition. But the palace of Constantinople was ruled by female influence, and agitated by female passions; and Verma, the widow of Leo, claiming his empire as her own, pronounced a sentence of deposition against the worthless and ungrateful servant on whom she alone had bestowed the seeptre of the East." As soon as she sounded a revolt in the ears of Zeno, he fled with precipitation into the mountains of Isauria, and ber brother Basilisous, already infamous by his African expedition." was unanimously proclaimed by the servile senate. But the reign of the usurper was short and turbulent. Busiliscus presumed to assusainate the lover of his sister; he dured to offend the lover of his wife, the vain and involent Harmatius, who, in the midst of Asiatic luxury, affected the dress, the demennour, and the surname of Achilles. By the conspiracy of the malecontents, Zeno was re-

Thoughtness (p. 111) interests a copy of her exceed bettern to the punthree two for Landon sprages are a . . see on gregoperands for loss Teneral Louis, Adv. South South proposition applied there artisals and the status of the first Cantra.

[#] Vol. ct. pc 201-104.

^{*} wonder, time i. p. 332, 327, sale. Klieber.

CHAT-XXXIX.

called from exite; the armies, the capital, the person of Basiliseus, were betraved a and his whole family was condemned to the lang agony of cold and hunger by the inhuman compaeror, who wanted courage to encounter or to forgive his enemies. The houghty spirit of Verina was still incapable of submission or pepese. She provoked the cumity of a favourite general, custowed his cause as soon as he was disgraced, created a new emperor in Seria and Egypt, raised an army of seventy thousand men, and persisted to the last moment of her life in a fruitless rebellion, which, according to the fashion of the age, had been predicted by Christian bermits and pagan magicians. While the East was afflicted by the passions of Vering, her daughter Ariadne was distinguished by the Temale virtues of mildness and fidelity; she followed her husband in his exile, and after his restoration she implored his elemency in favour of her mother. On the decease of Zeno, Arisine, or anses the daughter, the mother, and the widow of an emperor, gave her hand and the imperial title to Amstasius, an aged domestic of the palace, who survived his elevation above twenty-seven years, and whose character is attested by the acclamation of the people,-"Reign as you have lived?"

some, A. D. AVI-319, April 11. July B.

^{1.} The purposerry bisheles of Malchin and Cambridge are last; but some extracts or improve these been seved by Plantac, Oktobic, 1983s. p. 100, 100; Constitution Peruleongenities, Physorph. Lett. p. 78-575. and in enrious articles of the Leanuis of Suidas. The Chronick of Marsellines (Image Hutteres) are originals for the reigns of Zone and Another and I must acknowledge, abuse for the list time, my subjectime to the large and scentage collections of Tillimont, Olic. des Kimp, turn, vi. p. 473-427).

Whatever fear or affection could bestow, was CHAP. profusely lavished by Zeno on the king of the Ostrogothis; the rank of patrician and consul, the series command of the Palatine troops, an equestrian of these statue, a treasure in gold and silver of many thousand pounds, the name of son, and the promise of ass. a rich and henograble wife: As long as Theodoric condescended to serve, he supported with courage and fidelity the cause of his benefactor: his rapid march contributed to the restoration of Zeno; and in the second revolt, the Walamira, as they were called, pursued and pressed the Asiatic rebels, till they left an easy victory to the imperial troops. But the faithful sevent was sublenly converted into a formidable enemy, a ho spread the flames of war from Constantinople to the Adriatic; many flourishing cities were reduced to ashes, and the agriculture of Thrace was almost extirpated by the wanton cruelty of the Goths, with deprived their captive peasants of the right hand that guided the plough? On such occasions, Theodoric sustained the loud and specious repreach of disloyalty, of ingratitude, and of insatiate avariee, which could be only excused by the hard necessity of his situation. He reigned,

XXXIX.

[&]quot;La band e regression sale tang theftens count measure, come professor to acripton codificentity de externe dutations. Executios tines proceeds (p. 1 May, 1 Ser, mar. t. Mart. and) to transport his here (on a Syring-dangers). man Estimate, beying the round of Conces. The evidence of the Valetion Fragment, (c. 717), Laboratus, there, Eurych, z. 75, p. 118), and Thereises, up. 1125, is more soles and rational.

[&]quot; This aroul gracies a spenistry important to the Promise College jest burtures, as it should seem, than the Widowice, but the san of The destir is charged with the run of many Barran come, (Matchas Experps keep p. 25).

CHAP. not as the monarch, but as the minister of a fero-XXIX. cious people, whose spirit was unbroken by slavery, and impatient of real or imaginary insults. Their poverty was incurable; since the most liheral donatives were soon dissipated in wasteful luxury, and the most fertile estates became barren in their hands; they despised, but they envied, the laborious provincials; and when their subsistence had failed, the Ostrogoths embraced the familiar resources of war and rapine. It had been the wish of Theodoric (such at least was his declaration) to lead a peaceable, obscure, obsdient life, on the confiner of Scythin, till the Byzantino court, by splendid and fallacious promises, seduced him to attack a confederate tribe of Goths. who had been engaged in the party of Builliscus, He marched from his station in Massia, on the solemn assurance that before he reached Adrianopic, he should meet a plentiful convoy of provisions, and a reinforcement of eight thousand herse and thirty thousand feet, while the legions of Asia were encamped at Heracten to second his operations. These measureswere disappointed by mutual jealousy. As he advanced into Thrace, the son of Theodemir found an inhospitable soiltude, and his Gothic followers, with an heavy train of horses, of mules, and of waggons, were betrayed by their guides among the rocks and procipices of Mount Sondis, where he was assaulted by the arms and invectives of Theodoric the son of Triarius. From a neighbouring height, his artful rival harangued the camp of the Walamirs, and branded their leader with the opprobrious

names of child, of madman, of perjured trailor, CHAT. the enemy of his blood and nation. " Are you NXXIX. " ignorant," exclaimed the son of Triarins, " that " It is the constant policy of the Romans to destroy " the Goths by each other's swords? Are you in-" sensible that the victor in this unmitteral contest. " will be exposed, and justly exposed, to their "implacable revenge? Where are those warriors, " my kinsinen and thy own, whose widows now 4 Jament that their lives were specificed to the rash " ambition? Where is the wealth which the sol-" diers possessed when they were first allured from " their native homes to inlist under thy standard? " Each of them was then master of there or four " horses; they now follow the on footlike slaves, " through the deserts of Thrace; those men who " were tempted by the hope of measuring gold. " with a husbel, those brave men who are as free " and as noble as thyself." A language so well suited to the temper of the Goths, excited clamour and discontent; and the son of Theodemic. apprehensive of being left alone, was compelled to embrace his brethren, and to imitate the example of Roman perfidy."

In every state of his fortune, the prudence and Bannes. firmness of Theodoric were equally conspicuous;

value the of Berry. A. II. 460.

[&]quot; Jappandes (c. 55, Mr. p. 696) displays the services of Theodorie, conferms his researds, but discombine his veyon, of which is he correspond counts have been preserved by Malchine, (Recorpt, Legal, p. 18-97). Marcellings, a dimestic of Juntinten, make whose just committee (A. D. 134) in composed his Chronicle, (Scales, Tomorius Torrpayment, F. H. p. 34-47), hereave the projective and possing the Conciner debarrhautetti - . . Zoname munificantil peur pareten . . . homelein. Supplier with a Ar-

XXXIX.

whether he threatened Constantinople at the head of the confederate Goths, or retreated with a faithful hand to the mountains and sen-coast of Epirus. At length the accidental death of the son of Trisrius" destroyed the balance which the Romans had been so anxious to preserve; the whole nation acknowledged the supremacy of the Amali, and the Byzantine court subscribed an ignominious and oppressive treaty. The senate had already declared, that it was necessary to choose a party among the Goths, since the public was unequal to the support of their united forces; a subsidy of two thousand pounds of gold, with the ample pay of thirteen thousand men, were required for the least considerable of their armies;" and the Issurians, who guarded not the empire; but the emperor, enjoyed, besides the privilege of rapine, an annual pension of five thousand pounds. The sagacious mind of Theodoric soon perceived that he was odious to the Romans, and suspected by the barburians; he understood the popular marmar, that his subjects were exposed in their frozen buts to intolerable hardships, while their king was dissolved in the luxdry of Greece; and he prevented the painful alternative of encountering the Goths. as the champion, or of leading them to the field as the enemy, of Zeno. Embracing an enterprise worthy of his courage and ambition. Theodoric

whe he was string in his own ramp, as narraly bread these time against the point of a speer which hong before a beer, or was fixed on a wagers, (Marrellin, in Chron. Krugien, I. in, c. 25).

[&]quot; See Maichart, ep. 915, and Hongries, It. 65, a, 235,

Matchine, p. 65. In a single settine, which was elected by the skill and alweighter of Sabirito, Thursdone could have set of more.

addressd the emperor in the following words -- custs " Although your servant is maintained in afflu-" ence by your liberality, graciously listen to the " wishes of my heart! Italy, the inheritance of 9 your predecessors, and Rome itself, the head and " mistress of the world, now fluctuate under the " violence and oppression of Odoscer the merces mary. Direct me, with my national troops, to " march against the tyrunt. If I fall, you will be " relieved from an expensive and troublesome " friend: if, with the divine permission, I suc-" coed, I shall govern in your name, and to your " glory, the Roman senate, and the part of the e-republic delivered from slavery by my victo-" rings arms." The proposal of Theodoric was accepted, and perhaps had been suggested, by the Byzantine court. But the forms of the commission or grant, appear to have been expressed with a prodent ambiguity, which might be explained by the event; and it was left doubtful, whether the conqueror of Ruly should roign us the lieutenant. the vassil, or the ally of the emperor of the East.4

The reputation both of the leader and of the im-men. war diffused an universal ardour; the Walumirs were multiplied by the Gothic swarms already engaged in the service, or sented in the provinces, of the empire, and each bold barbarian, who had heard of the wealth and benuty of Italy, was im-

[&]quot;Juryamint is 57, p. 400, 407) has similared the green history of Carallelettis, Sir, compute, and remoulls, Prompto, (Genter, t. 1, v. 1). On Valence Programmed, op 1144, Thompson, sp. 1124, and Marrichana. Cit. Charm.

CHAP.

patient to seek, through the most perilous adventures, the possession of such enchanting objects The march of Theodoric must be considered as the emigration of an entire people; the wives and children of the Goths, their aged parents, and most precious effects, were carefully transported; and some idea may be formed of the heavy baggage that now followed the camp, by the loss of two thousand waggons, which had been sestained in a single action in the war of Epirus. For their subsistence, the Goths depended on the magazines of corn which was ground in portable mills by the lands of their women; on the milk and flesh of their flocks and herds; on the casual produce of the chase, and upon the contributions which they might impose on all who should presume to dispute the passage, or to refuse their friendly assistance. Notwithstanding these precautions, they were exposed to the danger, and almost to the distress, of famine, in a march of seven bundred miles, which had been undertaken in the depth of a rigorous winter. Since the full of the Roman power, Dacia and Pannonia no longer exhibited the rich prospect of populous cities, well cultivated fields, and convenient highways; the reign of harbarism and desolation was restored, and the tribes of Bulgarians, Gepide, and Sarmatians, who had occupied the vacant province, were prompted by their native fierceness, or the solicitations of Odoncer, to resist the progress of his In many obscure though bloody buttles, Theodoric fought and vanquished; till at length, surmounting every obstacle by skilful conduct and

persevering courage, he descended from the CHAT. Julian Alps, and displayed his invincible hanners on the confines of Italy."

Odoncer, a rival not unworthy of his arms, had al- Tis three ready occupied the advantageous and well-known osisser, post of the river Sontius near the rains of Aquileis, A. D. 480, at the head of a powerful host, whose independent sept. 25, kings' or lenders disdained the duties of subordinas August, tion and the prodence of delays. No sooner had Theodoric granted a short repose and refreshment to his wearied cavalry, than he boldly attacked the fortifications of the enemy; the Ostrogoths shewed more ardour to acquire, than the marcenaries to defend, the lands of Italy; and the raward of the first victory was the possession of the Venetian province as far as the walls of Veronn. In the neighbourhood of that city, on the steep banks of the rapid Adige, he was opposed by a new army, reinforced in its numbers, and not impaired in its courage; the contest was more obstinate, but the event was still more decisive; Odponer fled to Ruvenna, Theodoric advanced to Milau, and the vanquished troops saluted their conqueror with hand acclamations of respect and fidelity. But their want either of constancy or of faith, soon exposed him to the most imminent danger; his canguard, with several Gothic counts, which land been rashly

The day's ward is employed and Hamadel by fine and 1A08-11072), when the bootiers of the restant of translated live the Singuage of continues where

^{*} Tok regard, the Official lists to Limbs. We must reported from the conthe capal time was multiple of and organized, and that the discount of of their may the forgonia of their soft and and and

CHAT.

intrasted to a deserter, was betraved and destroyed near Facura by his double treachery, Odoncer again appeared master of the field, and the invader, strongly intrenched in his cump or Pavia, was reduced to solicit the aid of a kindred nation, the Visigoths of Gmil. In the course of this history, the most voracious appetite for war will be abundantly satisfied; nor can I much lament that our dark and imperfect materials do not afford a more supple parrative of the distress of Italy, and of the fierce conflict, which was family decided by the abilities, experience, and valour of the Gothic king. Immediately before the buttle of Verona, he visited the tent of his mother and sister, and requested, that on a day, the most illustrious festival of his life, they would adorn him with the rich garments which they had worked with their own hands " Our glory," said he, " is mutual and " inseparable: You are known to the world as " the mother of Theodoric; and it becomes me to " prove that I am the genuine offspring of those " beroes from whom I claim my descent." The wife or concubine of Theodemir was in pired with the spirit of the German matrons, who estenment their wan's homour far above their safety; and it is reported, that in a desperate action, when Theodorie himself was harried along by the torrent of a flying crowd, she boldly met them at the entrance

^{*} See Francisco, p. 1000, these the orator, as the time's present, and memorial probable most of a purp constitute that the magnetizate of Theodoric was not been by the vidger representation companies and become

of the camp, and, by her generous reproaches, drove them back on the swords of the enemy."

From the Alps to the extremity of Calabria, messages Theodoric reigned by the right of conquest; the harman Vandal ambassadors surrendered the island of Si- 5-0, 103. cily, as a lawful appendage of his kingdom; and he was accepted as the deliverer of Rome by the senate and people, who had shut their gates against the flying usurper. Ravenna alone, secure in the fortifications of art and mature, still sustained a siege of almost three years; and the during sallies of Odoacer carried slaughter and dismay into the Gothic camp. At length, destitute of provisions, and hopeless of relief, that unfortunate manarch yielded to the grouns of his subjects and the clamours of his soldiers. A treaty of peace was negotiated by the bishop of Ravenna; the Ostrogoths were admitted into the city, and the hostile kings consented, under the sunction of an oath, to rale with equal and undivided authority the provinces of Italy. The event of such an agreement may be easily foresten. After some days had been devoted to the semblance of joy and friendship, Odoncer, in the midst of a solemn banquet, was stabled by the hand, or at least by the communal, of his rival. Secret and effectual orders had

^{*} This angedess is tolered on the modern but required systemates of Signature, top. tor. is p. 180; De Combon Liep. I arts the words wer cornous and Wanted your return)" &c. She presented, and almost Aleplayed, the original recen-

[·] Stice. March I ver, a Roman history from Jamin 10 the 12th conbury, un Epitonia el Entropios, Panini Discussa, and Therphone. which Muraters has particularly from a MR. in the Americal or Opening Charles, Regum Bullererum, trait i, p. 1001.

CHAP. been previously despatched; the faithless and rapa-XXXX. clous mercenaries, at the same moment, and without resistance, were universally massacred; and the royalty of Theodoric was proclaimed by the Goths, with the turdy, reluctant, ambiguous consent of the emperor of the East. The design of a conspiracy was imputed, according to the usual forms, to the prestrate tyrant; but his innocence, and the guilt of his conqueror, are sufficiently proved by the advantageous trenty which force would not sincerely have granted, nor weakness have rushly infringed. The jealousy of power, and the mischiefs of discord, may suggest a more decent apology, and a sentence less rigorous may be pronounced against a crime which was necessary to introduce into Italya generation of public felicity. The living muther of this felicity was audaciously proised in his own presence by sacred and profane oratoral but history (in his time she was mute andinglorious) has not left any just representation of the events which displayed, or of the defects which clouded, the virtues of Theodoric. One

Course of The dark king of Italy. A. D. 493, March I-A. D. 326. AUE TO

A Processillo (Gostale- L. I., c. 1) approves birenull an importful respices Jan . . : Litage epone come. Commbrine, the Chron.); and Ennechma, tp. 1964), are legal and evalulous and the scattering of the Valuation Pengement on T184 may leavily their belief. Marsellinus spire the venum of a Genral emigert-sperjuran illurium, interfectorque est, on DOWN

^{*.} The element and except contion of Randdies tree propounced at Milen or Havenna in the years 207 or 208, Chirmond, 10m. 1, p. 1055s. Two in three years afferwards, the annua was returned with the Michaprin of Pavin, which he bold tell his death in the year AFL (This you little. Larges, term, v. p. 11-14. he spall Commadition, here. H. (C. Like

⁶ Our best materials my occasional binus from Perception and the Valence Fragment, which was discovered by Street, and is just-Maked.

record of his finne, the volume of public epistles CHAP. composed by Cassiodorius in the royal name is still XXXIX. extant, and has obtained more implicit credit than it seems to deserve." They exhibit the forms, rather than the substance, of his government; and we should vainly search for the pure and spontaneous sentiments of the barbarian amidst the declamation and learning of a sophist, the wishes of a Roman senator, the precedents of office, and the vague professions, which, in every court, and on every occasion, compose the language of discreet. ministers. The reputation of Theodoric may repose with more confidence on the visible peaceand prosperity of a reign of thirty-three years; the umanimous esteem of his own times, and the memory of his wisdom and courage, his justice and humanity, which was deeply impressed on the minds of the Goths and Italians.

The partition of the lands of Italy, of which drieds Theodoric assigned the third part to his soldiers, is honourably arraigned as the sole injustice of his And even this act may be fairly justified by the example of Odencer, the rights of conquest, the true interest of the Italians, and the sacred duty

linked at the end of Americana Movertinue. The author's come is un-Amount, and her eight to implement bith in his surman facts he cability the knowledge, without the passions, of a contemporary. The presdent Montesquire has formed me placent on history of Therefories, which at a distance toght appear a risk and interesting subject.

" The best edition of the Passaress Lales aid, is that of Joh. Gerretius, Mornings, 1979, to the Committee Two or fully but they described and required making outling as the Marquis Sergay Matter, who the other of probleming them at Vanner. The Rustiers Plagman for it in agentonly amen's by To should be made made, and miles perposens.

KULL YELL

XXXIX

CHAC. of subsisting a whole people, who, on the faith of his promises, had transported themselves into a distant. land. Under the reign of Theodoric, and in the happy climate of Italy, the Goths soon multiplied to a formidable host of two hundred thousundmen," and the whole amount of their families may be computed by the ordinary addition of women and children. Their invasion of property, a part of which must have been already vacant, was disguised by the generous but improper name of hospitality; these unwelcome guests were irregularly dispersed over the face of Italy, and the lot of each harburian was adequate to his birth and office, the number of his followers, and the rustic wealth which bepossessed in slaves and cattle. The distinctions of noble and plebeinn were acknowledged ? but the lands of every freeman were exempt from taxes, and been joyed the inestimable privilege of being subject only to the laws of his country. Fashion, and even convenience, soon persuaded the conquerors to assume the more elegant dress of the natives, but they still persisted in the use of their mother-tongue; and their contempt for the Latin schools was applauded by The-

^{*} Prempios, Godde, 53, c. iz Variarneo, ii. Maffel IVerona Illustrat. p. i. p. 276) exaggirates the topositio of the Sotio, when he hand as an Inchia politic. The plaintin Manages arougher under their NECESSION.

^{*} Promptor, Gath. J. St. v. 4, 11. Employ discretes (p. 1612, 1613) the millinery acts and incidenting summers of the Goths.

[&]quot; When Tourdays gweeths under to the king of the Ventile, the milled for Africa with a guard of 1000 milds Gotha, ourla of whom was attended by five armed followers, (Procon. Vanish, L. t. r. 8). Gothic miniting most have been as present as breeze.

^{*} See the arknowledgment of Gothic literty, Var. v. 38.

adoric himself, who gratified their prejudices, or CHAP. his own, by declaring, that the child who had trembled at a rod, would never dare to look upon a sword. Distress might sometimes provoke the indigent Roman to assume the ferocious manners which were insensibly relinquished by the rich and luxurious barbarian: but these mutual conversions were not encouraged by the policy of a monarch who perpetuated the separation of the Ita- Separation lians and Goths; reserving the former for the arts Coths and of peace, and the latter for the service of war. To halamaccomplish this design, he studied to protect his industrious subjects, and to moderate the violence without enervating the valour of his soldiers, who were maintained for the public defence. held their lands and benefices as a military stipend at the sound of the trumpet, they were prepared to march under the conduct of their provincial officers; and the whole extent of Italy was distributed into the several quarters of a well-regulated camp. The service of the palace and of the frontiers was performed by choice or by rotation; and each extraordinary fatigue was recompensed by an increase of pay and occasional donatives. Theodoric had convinced his brave companions, that empire must be acquired and defended by the

^{*} Procopline, Gottle i. I., z. E.: Tim Roman Soys harm the language (Var. vill. 21) of the Gotha. Their general ignorance is not destroyed by the exceptions of Amalastronia, a female, who might study without themp, or of Theritating whose horning provoked the indiguation and contempt of his consignment

^{*} A saying of Theodolfe was founded at experience.- " Remains Wittleer Indianar Garlianis et mini falere | Getting imitatur Remanant." then the fragment and Notes of Valence, p. 719s.

CRAP

same arts. After his example, they strove to excelin the use, not only of the lance and sword, the
instruments of their victories, but of the missile
weapons, which they were too much inclined to
neglect; and the lively image of war was displayed in the daily exercise and annual reviews of
the Gothic cavalry. A firm though gentle discipling imposed the habits of modesty, obedience,
and temperance; and the Goths were instructed
to spare the people, to reverence the laws, to
anderstand the dation of civil society, and to disclaim, the barbarons license of judicial combat
and private revenge.

Poreign patter of Theodoric Among the barbarians of the West, the victory of Theodoric harispread a general alarm. But as soon as it appeared that he was satisfied with conquest, and desirous of peace, terror was changed him respect, and they submitted to a powerful mediation, which was uniformly employed for the lest purposes of reconciling their quarrels and civilizing their manners. The ambaissadors who resorted to Raymana from the most distant countries of Europe, admired his wisdom, magnificence, and

¹ The view of the minings establishment of the 6-pin in Ptaly, is sufficient from the Equation of Contentions, (Vanilla et al., 10, 10, 2, 2, 46; by 15, 15, 10; c, 30, 15; col, 3, 4, 25; They are incommented by the internal Mining, (Illustration Discusses, Lan., 40, 15; Association and).

^{*} So the common and type of the register was in Emmiller, in 1807a, and Commissions. (Yes, 18, 1, 2, 3, 4), re, 15 p. 45, 44), who gives the different of year of friendship, months, experiments, de-

I flow of his saids (Var. co. 7) and pulses (vil. 3). The administration of strangers is represented so the most certain discovery to juntify these value exposures, and to Ministrate the different of the afficers to whote shore positions were infrastrate.

courtesy; and if he sumetimes accepted either charslaves or arms, white lorses or strange animals, XXXIX the gift of a sun-dial, a water-clock, or a musician, admonished even the princes of Gaul, of the superior art and balastry of his Italian subjects. His domestic alliances," a wife, two daughters, a sister, and a moce, united the family of Theodoric with the kings of the Franks, the Burgundians, the Visigoths, the Vandals, and the Thuringians; and contributed to maintain the harmony, or at least the balance, of the great republican the West." It is difficult, in the dark forests of Germany and Poland, to pursue the emigrations of the Heruli, a fierce people, whadisdained the use of armour, and who condemned their widows and aged parents not to survive the loss of their husbands, or the decay of their strength. The king of these savage warriors solicited the friendship of Theodoric, and was elevated to the rank of his son, according to the bacharic rites of a military adoption." From

[.] See the public and private alliances of the Quehic manusch, with the Barguodiana, (Var.), 42, 46, with the Foundation of Size with the Thatington, iv, S, and with the Ventale, (v. 1). Earn of those collider affords some cortains kineticage of the prince and manners of the barbariers.

[&]quot; He political system may be observed in Catalogeritte, Vac. 14, 23 iz, 15, Jonandes, in 29, p. nov., Civy, and ins Valoran Pregment, ip 720, 721s. Pears, beautiable parts, was the constant aim of Theodorie.

[&]quot;The current ember may extraplate the Hersel of Prospers, efforts. U. i. c. 144, and the postern remire may plunge bets lie dark and summits researches of M. of Burr, (Hot. day Complet America), tent in p. BALLERY.

F Variation, 10; 2: The spirit and Johns of the spartial lemman are confirmed by Cassandanius, but he escent to have only true lated the ori-Courses of the Guildo king turn the largerage of Bernatt elequipme

Char, the shores of the Baltic, the Estians, or Live-XXXIX nians, laid their offerings of native umber at the feet of a prince, whose fame had excited them to undertake an unknown and dangerous journey of fifteen hundred miles. With the country' from whence the Gothic nation derived their origin, he maintained a frequent and friendly correspondence; the Italians were clothed in the rich sables' of Sweden; and one of its sovereigns, after a voluntary or reluctant abdication, found an hospitable retreat in the palace of Ravenna. He had reigned over one of the thirteen populous tribes who cultivated a small portion of the great island or peniusula of Scandinavia, to which the vague appellation of Thole has been sometimes applied. That northern region was peopled, or had been explared, as high as the sixty-eighth degree of latitude, where the natives of the polar circle enjoy and lose the presence of the sun at each summer and

[&]quot; Casimbelling who quotes Tariffee to the Matters, the unferrored manges of the Battle, (Var. v. 2), describes the upder for which their above have ever been become as the good of a tree, hardward by the sun, and partified and wafted by the waver. When that singuilte sultainings in smalysed by the chemistre, at yields a vegetable sidand a pilette field

^{*} Senneta, or Thate, or described by Jornandes, (c. 5, p. 610-613), and Percopues, (Getta, Lois, to 15). Neither the Guilt one the Griet. had visited the country's both had conversed with the natives in their galle at Mavenus or Constantinople.

[.] Nambrious pulles. In the time of Juramiles, they inhabited Sandare, the proper Sweden ; but that beautiful some of unimate has gradually him driven men the enstern perm of fallers. Ser Bud in Hist. Nat term will, p. 309-313, quarte estillary Pennent, (System of Quadrapais, vol. i. p. 322-328); Gmelin, (Hist. Gen. des Voyages, true well, p. 227, 239), and Levelque (Hint, de Rumir, terr. v. f-166, 166, 616, 615

winter solstice during an equal period of forty CHAP. days. The long night of his absence or death XXXIX was the mournful season of distress and anxiety, till the messengers who had been sent to the mountain tops, descried the first rays of returning light, and proclaimed to the plain below the fintival of his resurrection.

The life of Theodoric represents the rare and the determeritorious example of a barbarian, who sheathed his sword in the pride of victory and the vigour of his age. A reign of three and thirty years was consecrated to the duties of civil government, and the hostilities in which he was sometimes involved, were speedily terminated by the conduct of his licutenants, the discipline of his troops, the arms of his allies, and even by the terror of his name. He reduced, under a strong and regular government, the unprofitable countries of Rheetin, Noricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia, from the source of the Danube and the territory of the Bavarians," to the petty kingdom

In the system or summer of M. Builly, (Lettres our ice Sciences at our l'Atlantife, tome te p. 249-256; Aun. H. p. 715-1265, the phenon of the Edds, and the around death and revised of Admis and Oticis, are the allegerical symbols of the absence and extern of the one in the Arctic regions. This beginning within is a worthy discopie of the great Buffon's out to it may for the colders areans to withstead the magic of their philosophy.

[&]quot;Apra er Sulleran e maner can super uns anya Proceptus. At present à riske Mustificieux (generates ensugée) prevailé annue the Semayodes in Greenland and in Lepland, (Hist. des Varages, teen, will). pt 500, 500; home min, p. 103, 100, 527, 570); yet, accoming to Gratios, Somejuna cultura stipus netre aderent, mentra hand alto buiquinen, the Rabon Balgiere, L. 10, 5, 1310, fails williseen a neutrace which Taxing would not have discount.

⁵ See the Hist. des Pempier Anglant, &c. 1000, 12, p. 215-273, 386. 461. The Count de Boat was French minister at the court of Ravacus : a History.

XXXIX:

CHAP counted by the Gepida on the rums of Sirmium. The prodence could not safely intrust the bulwork of Italy to such feeble and turbulent neighbours; and his justice might claim the lands which they oppressed, either as a part of his kingdom, or as the inheritance of his father The greatness of a servant, who was named perfidlens because he was successful, awakened the jealousy of the emperor Amastusius; and a war was kindled on the Dacina frontier, by the protection which the Gothic king, in the vicissitude of human affairs, had granted to one of the descendants of Attila. Sahinian, a general illustrious by his own and his father's merit, advanced at the head of ten thousand Romans and the provisions and arms, which filled a long train of wargons, were distrihuted to the florcest of the Bulgarian tribes. But, in the fields of Margus, the eastern powers were defeated by the inferior forces of the Goths and Huns: the flower and even the hope of the Roman armies was irretrievably destroyed; and such was the temperance with which Theodoric had impired his victorious troops, that as their lender had not given the signal of pillage, the rich spoils of the enemy lay untouched at their feet." Ex-A. D. 500 naperated by this disgraps, the Byzantine court desputched two hundred ships and eight thousand

His savel Armendal.

A 100 a

a liberal christian prompted his sequests land the unsignifies of the comings, and that contactly was the grow of twelve stronglable to-Herris C.

If for the Gothic transactions on the Danube and in Highware, in James de, 18, p. 699); Eurodius, (p. 1607-1619); Marrellinus, tin Chronicy. 66, 67, 689, and Cannadorius, (in Chroni and Vac. 10), 23, 50; W. Hi; W. S. Hi; vii., S. W. H. H. H. S. S. St.

men to plunder the sea-coast of Calabria and Apu- CHAP. lia; they assumited the ancient city of Tarentum, XXXIX. interrupted the trade and agriculture of an happy country, and sailed back to the Hellespont, penud of their piratical victory over a people whom they still presumed to consider as their Roman larethren. Their retreat was possibly hastened by the activity of Theodoric; Italy was covered by: a fleet of a thousand light vessels,* which he constructed with incredible despatch; and his firm moderation was soon rewarded by a solid and tomourable peace. He maintained with a powerful hand the balance of the West, till it was at length overthrown by the ambition of Clovis; and allthough quable to assist his rush and infortunate kinsman the king of the Visigoths, he saved the remains of his family and people, and checked the Franks in the midst of their victorious career. I am not desirous to prolong or repeat" this narrative of military events, the least interesting of the reign of Theodoric; and shall be content to add, that the Alemanni were protected, that an

Learnest forfear transprising the librer and classic style of Coults Margiffings P. British comes demotioning at British comes fabreindustria crim contain accustic merimus, teridencere di commissio, acta pulling resistants artifatorers organic forestitions, and development finding little tors processment, et mans of Taxonims antiquimment so inform aggreed south remarkable must inhonestim victimizes quair printies dien Rossasi en Rossasio reportent, Austratio Count reportaring, on Chron. p. 486. See Valint, t. 18; 19, 50.

^{1 .} See the regularities and instruction. (Val. 16, 15) a, 16-16). There arrived began should be still smaller than the thousand breadle of Against 1900 at the engy of Troy.

^{*} Vot. vi. p. 230-301

[·] Empoding, on Atlift, and Cassociurus, in the royal name, (Yes, V. 47's record his salutary proportion of the Alemanni.

cuan inroad of the Burgundians was severely chastised. XXXIX. and that the conquest of Arles and Marseilles opened a free communication with the Visigoths, who revered him both as their national protector, and as the guardian of his grandchild, the infant son of Alaric. Under this respectable character, the king of Italy restored the pretorian prefecture of the Gauls, reformed some abuses in the civil government of Spain, and accepted the annual tribute and apparent autmission of its militury governor, who wisely refused to trust his person in the palace of Ravenna.4 The Gothic sovereignty was established from Sicily to the Danube, from Sirmium or Belgrade to the Atlantic ocean; and the Greeks themselves have acknowledged that Theodoric reigned over the fairest portion of the western empire."

Civil novarmment conting to the Reman fame.

The union of the Goths and Romans might of fully as have fixed for ages the transient happiness of Italy; and the first of nations, a new people of free subjects and enlightened soldiers, might have gradually arisen from the mutual emulation of their respective virtues. But the sublime merit of guiding or seconding such a revolution, was not reserved for the reign of Theodoric; he wanted either the genius or the opportunities of

⁶ The Gathle transactions in Gard and Spain, are represented with Jermandes, to 58, p. 638, 659), and Proceptus. Goth Lt. o. 17) | 1 will matther hear ner recomelle the bury and contradictory arguments of the Abbe Dubos and the Count de Bunt, about the wars of Burgrady.

[&]quot; Cherphanis, p. 213.

a legislator; and while he indulged the Goths CHAP. in the enjoyment of rude liberty, he servitely XXXIX. copied the institutions, and even the abuses, of the political system which had been framed by Constantine and his successors. From a tender regard to the expiring prejudices of Rome, the barbarian declined the name, the purple, and the dialem of the emperors; but he assumed, under the hereditary title of king, the whole substance and plenitude of imperial prerogative. His addresses to the eastern throne were respectful and ambiguous; he celebrated in pompous style tha harmony of the two republics, applauded his own government in the perfect similitude of a sale and undivided empire, and claimed above the kings of the earth the same pre-eminence which he modestly allowed to the person or rank of Anastasius. The alliance of the East and West was annually declared by the ununimous choice of two consuls; but it should seem that the Italian candidate who was named by Theodoric, accepted a formal confirmation from the sovereign of Constantinople. The Gothic palace of Rayenna re-

^{*} Protoplin affirms that no laws unarranger were permulated by Theoderic and the towering stars of Italy, that Dis, or the Ha must seem in the Gothic tangings. A Latin care of Thredwice in still extent, in one hundred and difference writeles.

⁴ The image of Thusburn is engaged on his name: his modest succountry were satisfied with adding their own name to the fresh of the raigalag susperm, (Muratur Antiquitte, Dana Medii diel, tem. C. diesert, navil. 3. AST-570, Gianmine Intura Cicris 6: Sup il. 100-14 B 15611

^{*} The siliance of the emparer and the bing of Staly are represented by Camind print, (Var. I, L ; ii, l, F, S; vi. I), and Procession, (lieth. i. ii. a, fig 1 mi, c. 21), who crickrate the Lycothly of Assurains and Theselenes but the Squrative style of complement was interpreted to warry different copes at Constantinople and Barrents.

Occted the image of the court of Theodosius or Valentimum. The pretorian prefect, the prefect of Rome, the questor, the master of the offices, with the public and patrimonial treasurers, whose functions are painted in gandy colours by the rhetoric of Cassiodorius, still continued to act as the ministers of state. And the subordinate care of justice and the revenue was delegated to seven consulars, three emrectors, and five presidents, who governed the fifteen regions of Italy, according to the principles and even the forms of Roman jurispradence. The violence of the conquerors was almfed or eluded by the slow artifice of judicial proceedings; the civil administration, with its honours and employents, was confined to the Rullans; and the people still preserved their dress and language, their laws and customs, their personal freedom, and two-thirds of their landed property. It had been the object of Augustus to conceal the introduction of monarchy; it was the policy of Theodoric to disguine the reign of a harbarian." If his subjects

To the 200 percentage of the Norths, Paul Warneleid the denome (On Bris Longohard, U.S., et 14-20) has subjected as a verified, the Appearant, (Marahan) Script. Herein featurems, tom. i, p. 601-453). But of these Sections and Conside were pursued by the Verdalis, and the two Obstina, as well as the Cetters Alpa, ment to have been abandomed as indicate government. The state of the four precount that now form the kingdom of Naples, is laboured by Glamous state. U.p. 112, 1283 with portions diagrams.

See the Gattle Minney of Processing, the Lord of Line See the Special of Connectories, (passing but especially the sets and with books, which contain the forwards, or patents of offices, and the Confederate States of County, which he places in every Italian copy, accountificated, however, by Maffet, (Versial Binarrate, p. 1, 2, 400, p. 227); for these of Syracuse and Maples (Versial Processing Special and Immerstry commissions.

were sometimes awakened from this pleasing curry vision of a Roman government, they derived more XXXIX. substantial comfort from the character of a Gothie prince, who had penetration to discern, and firmness to pursue, his own and the public interest... Theodoric loved the virtues which he possessed, and the talents of which he was destitute. Liferius was promoted to the office of pretorian prefect for his anshaken fidelity to the unfortunate cause of Odoncer. The ministers of Theodoric, Cassiodorius and Boethius, have reflected on his reign the lustre of their genius and learning. More prodent or more fortunate than his colleague, Caviederius provived his own esteem without forfeiting the royal favour; and after passing thirty years in the honours of the world, he was blessed with an equal term of repose in the devont and studious militude of Squillace.

As the patron of the republic, it was the in-Property terest and duty of the Cothic king to cultivate the of Remo affections of the senate" and people. The nobles of Rome were flattered by someous epithets and formal professions of respect, which had been more justly applied to the merit and authority of their

72-80%

[&]quot;. Two fartiers of the name of Cambellering the father, (Vat. 1, 24, 40), and the sen, jus. 12, 250, were morning employed in the siministration of Physicale. The new was beauty the year \$75; his errious spatitions quarter, marter of the offers, and promoting profine. extend from now to Atts, one too tired us a much along therey years. (Thubsaria Smith della Liebranius Humana, 1888, 20, p. 1-24. Frbeteine, Annier, Lier, Med. Men. tom- v. p. 337, 329, sally, Marriet - See his regard for the miner in Carblente (Vit. Toron 11 . v.

ancestors. The people enjoyed, without fear or danger, the three blessings of a capital, order, plenty, and public amusements. A visible diminution of their numbers may be found even in the measure of liberality; yet Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, poured their tribute of corn into the gennaries of Rome; an allowance of bread and meat was distributed to the indigent citizens; and every office was deemed honourable which was consecrated to the care of their health and happiness. The public games, such as a Greek ambassador might politely appland, exhibited a faint and feeble copy of the magnificence of the Cæsars: yet the musical, the gymnastic, and the pantomime arts, had not totally sunk in oblivion; the wild beasts of Africa still exercised in the amphitheatre the courage and dexterity of the hunters; and the indulgent Goth either patiently tolerated or gently restrained the blue and green factions, whose contests so often filled the circus with clamour, and even with blood.* In the seventh year of his peaceful reign. Theodoric visited the old capital of the world; the senate and people advanced in solemn procession to salute a second Trajan, a new Valentinian; and he nobly supported that character by the assurance of a just

Visit of Theodoric, A. D. 500.

^{*} No more than \$20,000 model, or fine thousand queries, \$45mayon. Valence, p. 721, and Var. 5, 35; vi. 18; as, 5, 30;

^{*} See his regard and includence for the appear for of the circus, the amphicheurs, and the theatrs, in the Chromote and Epistes of Casticologies, (Van. 1, 30, 27, 30, 31, 32, 41, 51; 14, 51, 46, illustrated by the Kirth Armotation of Mannou's History, who has contrived to sprinkly the select with appearance the agreeable, travelen-

and legal government, in a discourse which he citarwas not afraid to pronounce in public, and to XXXIX. inscribe on a tablet of bruss. Rome, in this august ceremony, shot a last ray of declining glory; and a saint, the spectator of this pompous scene, could only hope in his pieus fancy, that it was excelled by the celestial splendour of the New Jerusalem.3 During a residence of six months, the tame, the person, and the courteous demeanour of the Gothic king, excited the admiration of the Romans, and he contemplated, with equal curiosity and surprise, the monuments that remained of their ancient greatness. He imprinted the footstops of a conqueror on the Capitoline hill, and frankly confessed that each day he viewed with fresh wonder the forum of Trajan and his lofty column. The theatre of Pompey appeared, even in its decay, as a huge mountain artificially hollowed and polished, and adorned by human industry; and he vaguely computed, that a river of gold must have been drained to erect the colossal amphitheatre of Titus. From the mouths of fourteen aqueducts, a pure and copious stream was diffused into every part of the city; among

^{*} Amerym. Vales. p. 721 ; Murini Aventicamia in Chros. In the saute of putilie and personal escrit, the Gothic componer is at least to munit above Valentinian, as he may seem takes of trajan.

¹ Vit. Falgentii in Buren. Annal. Herisa, A. D. 500, No. 10.

[&]quot; Carnisduring describes, in his prompout style, the fewers of Trajan, (Var. vi., 4), the thante of Marcritus, (iv. 21), and the amphitheutre of Titue, (v. \$2); and his descriptions are not unwarries of the rester's perural. According to the tuneers prices, the Abbe Barthelemy competes that the brick-work and measury of the Collision would miss cost awenty millions of French tryest, (Mem. de l'Arademie des Inscriptions, turn xxviii, p. 385, 580). How small a part of that Stupendows fabrie?

XXXIX.

these the Claudian water, which arose at the distance of thirty-eight miles in the Sabine mountains, was conveyed along a gentle though constant declivity of solid arches, till it descended on the summit of the Aventine hill. The long and spacions vanits which had been constructed for the purpose of common sewers, subsisted, after twelve centuries, in their pristine strength; and the subterrancons channels have been preferred to all the visible wonders of Rome. The Gothic kings. so injuriously accused of the ruin of antiquity. were anxious to preserve the monuments of the nation whom they had subdued. The royal edicts were framed to prevent the abuses, the neglect, or the depredations of the citizens themselves; and a professed architect, the annual sum of two hundred pounds of gold, twenty-five thousand tiles, and the receipt of customs from the Lucrine port, were assigned for the ordinary repairs of the walls and public edifices. A similar care was extended to the statues of metal or marble, of men or animals. The spirit of the horses, which have given a modern name to the Quirinal, was applauded by the barbarians;" the brazen

^{*} For the equations and concer, we Sciable, there is 500 to Phone, (High Nat. 2007), Ph. Chamodados, (Van. 31, 30, 31; et. 6); Proposite (Both his, < 10); and Natchat, (Rome Author; p. 514-577). How such works could be concated by a king of Rome, is yet a problem.

For the Gathic cure of the buildings and distance, our Cavinderius, (Var. s. 21, 23, st. 33, (v. 30), via 6, 13, 13, end the Valence Fragment, (v. 721).

^{*}Ver. vit. 15. Three horses of Mente-Caralle had been tromported from Alexandria to the builts of Constanting (Nordin), p. 188). There acclepture is made not by the Ablie Dubes, (Manustane are in Proceedings).

elephants of the Via sacra were diligently restor- CHAP. ed; the famous heifer of Myron deceived the cattie, as they were driven through the forum of peace; and an officer was created to protect those works of art, which Theodoric considered as the noblest ornament of his kingdom.

After the example of the last emperors. Theo-Fauristdoric preferred the residence of Ravenna, where or may he cultivated an orchard with his own hands." As often as the pence of his kingdom was threatened (for it was never invaded) by the barbarians, he removed his court to Verona' on the northern frontier, and the image of his palace, still extant, on a coin, represents the oble-tandmost nutbentic mode) of Gothic architecture. These two capitals, as well as Pavin, Spoicto, Naples, and the rest of the Italian cities, acquired under his reign the useful or splendld decorations of churches, aqueducts, baths, portices, and palaces." But the

me is Peniture, sum I, section 301, and eliminal by Windowsky, (Hist. de P.Ars., tame 8, p. 259).

* Vo., s. 10. They were probably a fragment of same triangular cur, (Copier do Hiteglannia, il, 10).

* Propopule (Gotte, & er. c. 21) relates a feelink stary of Myran's early which is collected by the false wit of thirty-sin forces opportunity (Antholog. L. iv., p. 102-208, edit. Hon. Steph: Alemn. Belgram. 1045irrilly.

* See in Reignam of Ramedian rd. H, p. 1993, 1994) so this guiden and the royal guilmore.

" His affection to that city is grownd by the spitter of " Vennia and," and the legend of the ture a moder the burfaculus name of Dissuch of flows, (Verlage with all Continuous, p. 240), Maries marrie him with knowledge and pleasure in his males country, (1 tr. p. 220). 236%

See Maftel, Verora Eliminata, part 3, p. 232, 232, 300, &c. Mr. impoint fiethic architecture. His the corruption of briguage, writing, As, not as the turbur, and, but so the Italians themselves. Compare his sentiments with those of Tiraleacht, (time iti, p. 67).

VOL. VIL.

banpaness of the subject was more truly conspicuous in the busy scene of labour and luxury, in the rapid increase and hold enjoyment of national wenlth: From the shades of Tibur and Praneste, the Roman senators still retired in the winter-season to the warm sun, and sulubrious springs of Baia; and their villas, which advanced on solid moles into the buy of Naples, commanded the various prospect of the sky, the earth, and the water. On the castern side of the Findriatic, a new Campania was formed in the fair and fruitful province of Istria, which communicated with the palace of Ravenna by an easy navigation of one hundred miles. The rich productions of Lucania and the adjacent provinces were exchanged at the Marcidian fountain, in a populous fair annually dedicated to traile, intemperance, and superstition. In the solitude of Comum, which had once been unimated by the mild genius of Pliny, a transparent bason, above sixty miles in length, still reflected the rural sents which encompassed the margin of the Larian lake; and the gradual ascent of the hills was covered by a triple plantation of olives, of vines, and of chesnut trees. Agriculture revived under the shadow of peace, and the number of husbandmen was multiplied by the redemption of captives.4 The iron mines of Dal-

deeds are the best of miracles.

[•] The villar, climate, and landskip of Bane, (Ver. iv. 6: See Chaver, Italia Antis, i. iv. c. 2, p. 1719, de.); largis, (Ver. ch. 22, 26), and Commun. (Ver. vi. 14, compare with Pliny's recveller, iv. 7), are agreeably printed in the Epstles of Communication.

⁴ In Ligaria numerous agricularum progenies, (Ennedius, p. 1878, 1679, 1680). St. Epiphanium of Pavia redeemed by prayer or random 03.37 capitives from the Burgundlens of Lyons and Savoy. Such

matia, a gold mine in Bruttium, were carefully explored, and the Pomptine marshes, as well as those of Spaleto, were drained and cultivated by private undertakers, whose distant reward must depend on the continuance of the public prosperity. Whenever the seasons were less propitious, the doubtful precautions of forming magazines of corn, fixing the price, and prohibiting the exportation, attested at least the benevolence of the state; but such was the extraordinary plenty which an industrious people produced from a grateful soil, that a gallon of wine was sometimes sold in Italy for less than three farthings, and a quarter of wheat at about five shillings and six pence." A country possessed of so many valuable objects of exchange, soon attracted the merchants of the world, whose beneficial traffic was encouraged and protected by the liberal spirit of Theodoric. The free intercourse of the provinces by land and water was restored and extended; the city gates were never shut either by day or by night; and the common saying, that a purse of gold might be safely left in the fields,

^{*} The pairtical emmany of Theodoric (see Ananym. Vales, p. 711, and Cassion class, in Chrys.) may be distinctly traced under the following hands: focus mine, (Var. 16, 23); gold mine, (iv. B); Propping marches, us, 32, 33; Spatches, us, 21; com, 0, 35; v, 27, 78; xi, 21, 17); trace, (vi. 7, 0, 23); dur of Leisuthe = St. Cyprite in Lancalia, tem, 21; plenty, (xi. 5); the cursus, or public post; (iv. 20; ii. 31; iv. 42; v, 4; xi, 6; ett, 21); the Firmman way, (iii. 48);

^{*}LX modil netted to solidare space tempore (arrang, or vacuum are scaptures in solidare, (Fragment, Value). Com was distributed from the grammers at an erang mode for a pince of gold, and the price was still modernic.

was expressive of the conscious security of the CHAP. inhabitants." XXXIX.

Threader in an Arona.

A difference of religion is always pernicious and often fatal to the harmony of the prince and people; the Gothic conqueror had been calicated in the profession of Arianism, and Italy was deyoutly attached to the Nicene faith. But the persuasion of Theodoric was not infected by zeal, and he piously adhered to the heresy of his fathers, without condescending to balance the subtle arguments of theological metaphysics. Satisfied with the private toleration of his Arian secturies, he justly conceived himself to be the guardian of the public worship; and his external reverence for a superstition which he despised, may have nourished in his mind the salutary indifference of a the colum- statesman or philosopher. The catholics of his dominions acknowledged, perhaps with reluctance. the peace of the church; their clergy, according to the degrees of rank or merit, were honourably entertained in the palace of Theodoric; he esteemed the living smetity of Casarius' and Epiphamas, the orthodox bishops of Arles and Pavia; and presented a decent offering on the tomb of

tion of the + Minnings

⁶ Son the life of St. Committee in Baronina, (A. D. MS, No. 19, 12). The king programs him with 300 gold solids, and a discus of after of the world of stary prouds.

Egystini in sift. St. Epipionilia in Sirmond Oys inm. 1, 16. 1672-1000. Then are beneved atms respondent favours on this history. school he soul as a commellor in peace and war.

Deventummer as of Catholisms, (Annayor, Vales, p. 190) 1 per his then give a rate than two on a mailledicts, formerous of the entired of security possess, for inferior to the gold and genry of Con-Cambridge and France, Chasteners in Vat. Pant. in Hormistia, p. 24. edit. Parish.

St. Peter, without any scrupulous inquiry into CHAP. the creed of the apostle. His favourite Goths, and even his mother, were permitted to retain or embrace the Athanasian faith, and his long reign could not afford the example of an Italian catholic, who, either from choice or compulsion, had deviated into the religion of the conqueror. The people, and the barbarians themselves, were edified by the pomp and order of religious worship; the ungistrates were instructed to defend the just immunities of ecclesiastical persons and possessions; the bishops held their synods, the inetropolitans exercised their jurisdiction, and the privileges of sanctuary were maintained or moderated according to the spirit of the Roman jurisprudence. With the protection, Theodoric assumed the legal supremucy of the church; and his firm administration restored or extended some useful prerogatives which had been neglected by the feeble emperors of the West. He was not ignorant of the dignity and importance of the Roman pontiff, to whom the venerable name of Porn was now appropriated. The peace or the revolt of Italy might depend on the character of a wealthy and popular hishop, who claimed such

The relevating system of his relevat (Camedias, p. 1612; Amnym. Value p. 710 r Pricesp. Goth. I. L. e. J. ch. ii., c. o., mor be stuffed in the Equation of Carolinians, under the College of Lorder bridge, (Var. (4 Ru etil, Id. 24 ; al., At) (emmannies, il. bir ii. 20, Birr elaredhands, cit, TV, may standarden, on, the m. 47rs shared plate, tan, Bitt | starrytian, try, \$477 which prove at the same time that he was the board of the church as well as of the state.

I We may expect a finish tale of the betweening is named demonst who turned Arian, (Timalor, Laster, No. 179. Why is Thouland erragmed Age ! From Fager ! (Value on for.) A light sonjermin-

imple dominion both in heaven and earth; who had been declared in a numerous synod to be pure from all sin, and exempt from all judgment." When the chair of St. Peter was disputed by Symmachus and Laurence, they appeared at his summing before the tribunal of an Arian moparch, and he confirmed the election of the most worthy or the most obsequious candidate. At the end of his life, in a moment of jenlousy and resentment, be prevented the choice of the Romans, hy nominating a pone in the palace of Ravenon. The danger and furious contests of a schism were mildly restrained, and the last decree of the senate was enacted to extinguish, if it were possible, the soundalous venality of the papul elcotions."

Vices of his groundI have descrited with pleasure on the fortunate condition of Italy; but our fancy must not hastily conceive that the golden age of the poets, a race of men without vice or misery, was realised under the Cothic conquest. The fair prospect was sometimes overcust with clouds; the wisdom of Throdoric might be deceived, his power might be resisted, and the declining age of the monarch was suffied with popular hatred and patrician blood. In the first insolence of victory, he had been tempted to deprive the whole party of Odoncer

Euroding, p. 1621; 1672, 1636, 1638. His fidel was approved and registered (synonthing) by a Roman council, (flaroning, A. D. 603, N*, S.; Franchens Pagi in Repoter, Posts Home from 1, p. 747).

See Cantindorina, (Var. vill, 15 ; 1s. 10, 16); Amaricalus, dit Synchrocks, p. 31), and the satisfactoring of Mannes. Barentina, Pagi, and most of the cathode doctors, confers, with an angry grawl, this Gothic margation.

of the civil and even the natural rights of so- CHAP. ciety;" a tax unsensomably imposed after the calamities of war, would have crushed the rising agriculture of Liguria; a rigid pre-emption of corn, which was intended for the public relief, must have aggravated the distress of Campania. These dangerous projects were defeated by the virtue and eloquence of Epiphanius and Boethius, who, in the presence of Theodoric himself, successfully pleaded the cause of the people : but if the royal ear was open to the voice of truth, a saint and a philosopher are not always to be found at the ear of kings. The privileges of rank, or office, or favour, were too frequently abused by Italian fraud and Gothic violence, and the avarice of the king's nephew was publicly exposed, ut first by the usurpation, and afterwards by the restitution, of the estates which he had unjustly extorted from his Tuscan neighbours. Two hundred thousand barbarians, formidable even to their master, were sented in the heart of Italy; they indigrantly supported the restraints of peace and discipline; the disorders of their march were always felt and sometimes compensated; and where it was dangerous to punish, it might be prodent to dis-

[&]quot; He disabled them-a ligently ferrand a and all fully mournedtumericably justice. I wish to believe, that these penalties were enerted against the robers, who has youland their onto of allogance; but the testimony of Encoding, (p. 1673-1678) is the issue weighty. as he lived and died under the reign of Tanoduric.

F. Esmodine, In. Vir. Epopum, p. 1889, 1680, Bonthus de Comularome Philosophia, &), pres. iv. p. 45, 40, 57. Respect; but weigh the pundant of the unit and the senare ; and fertify or alley(21) than complaints by the various blant of Cambodinion, (H. Sp. 1s., 78 : will, 5).

semble, the sallies of their native fierceness. When the indulgence of Theodoric had requitted two-thirds of the Ligurian tribute, he condescended to explain the difficulties of his situation, and to lament the heavy though inevitable burdens which he imposed on his subjects for their own defence. These ungrateful subjects could never be cordially reconciled to the origin, the religion, or even the virtues of the Gothic conqueror; past calamities were forgotten, and the sense or anspleion of injuries was rendered still more exquisite by the present felicity of the times.

He is preroked to personalthe catholice.

Even the religious toleration which Theodoric had the glory of introducing into the Christian world, was painful and offensive to the orthodox zeal of the Italians. They respected the armed heresy of the Goths; but their pious rage was safely pointed against the rich and defenceless. Jews, who had formed their establishments at Naples, Rome, Ravenna, Milan, and Genoa, for the benefit of trade, and under the sanction of the laws." Their persons were insulted, their effects were pillinged, and their synagogues were burnt by the mad populace of Ravenna and Rome, inflamed, as it should seem, by the most frivolous or extravagant pretences. The government which could neglect, would have deserved, such an outrage. A legal inquiry was instantly directed; and as the authors of the tumuit had escaped in the

A lumination expensions position . . . pro specime value, &c., yet these are no more than words.

The free even settled at Napies, (Proceputs, Gothe L. t. e. 8), at Genna, (Var. 0., 28; iv. 32), Milan, (v. 37), Rumer, (v. Civ. Soc. Discretize Bassage, Hist. des Juifs, tonn ville T. p. 254.

crowd, the whole community was condemned to CHAT. repair the damage; and the obstinate bigots who XXXIX. refused their contributions, were whipped through the streets by the hand of the executioner. This simple act of justice exasperated the discontent of the catholics, who applieded the merit and patience of these holy confessors; three hundred pulpits deplored the persecution of the church; and if the chapel of St. Stephen at Verona was demolished by the command of Theodoric, it is probable that some miracle hostile to his name and dignity had been performed on that sacred theatre. At the close of a giorious life, the king of Italy discovered that he had excited the hatred of a people whose happiness he had so assiduou dy lahoured to promote; and his mind was soured by indignation, jealousy, and the bitterness of unrequited love. The Gothic conqueror condescended to disarm the unwarlike natives of Italy, interdicting all weapons of offence, and excepting only a small knife for domestic use. The deliverer of Rome was accused of conspiring with the vilest informers against the lives of senators whom he suspected of a secret and treasonable correspondonce with the Byzantine court. After the death of Anastasius, the diadem had been placed on the head of a feeble old man; but the powers of government were assumed by his nephew Justinian. who already meditated the extirpation of heresy,

^{*} Res andre commune exist, &c. (Borthick, L. I. y. 19) : res dehos Barnanis tendebat, (Anonym. Value, p. 125). These our hard worder they speak the patterns of the Italians, and these (I ime) of Depolecie himself.

and the conquest of Italy and Africa. A rigorous law which was published at Constantinople, to reduce the Arisms by the dread of punishment within the pale of the church, awakened the just resentment of Theodoric, who claimed for his distressed brethren of the East, the same indulgence which he had so long granted to the catholies of his dominions. At his stern command, the Roman pontiff, with four illustrious senators, embarked on an embassy, of which he must have alike dreaded the failure or the success. The singular veneration shown to the first pope who had visited Constantinople was punished as a crime by his jealous monarch; the artful or peremptory refound of the Byzantine court might excuse an equal, and would provoke a larger, measure of retaliation; and a mandate was prepared in Italy, to prohibit, after a stated day, the exercise of the catholieworship. By the bigotry of his subjects and enemies, the most tolerant of princes was driven to the brink of persecution; and the life of Theodone was too long, since he lived to condemn the virtue of Boethius and Symmachus.

Character, studies, and havmure of Borthus. The senator Boethius, is the last of the Romans whom Cato or Tully could have acknow-

* Le Chre has compared a critical and philosophical life of Andreas Mealing Severimes Regulance, cilibrate, Chabon, same, 247, p. 168-2750.

^{*}There inhoused in surrect a cational currences from the dark, seeke.e., and seemes highes of the Valuther Programs, (p. 727, 723, 724);
Thereplanes, (p. 143); Americalus, (or Johanne, p. 35), and the HistoMuscolia, (p. 168, odd. Muratoria. A gentic pressure and paraphrases
of their words to me windows. Current Barwise Muratori, (Annali &
Italia, some re, p. 451-479), with the Annals and Revenue (Lam. 4,
208-787) of the two Pages, the code and the negligible.

hedged for their countryman. As a wealthy or phan, CHAR. XXXIX. be inherited the patrimony and honours of the XXXIX. Anicien family, a name ambitiously assumed by the kings and emperors of the age; and the appellation of Manlius asserted his genuine or fabulous descent from a race of consuls and dictators, who had repulsed the Gamla from the Capitol, and sacrificed their sons to the discipline of the republic. In the youth of Boethius, the studies of Rome were not totally abandoned; a Virgil is now extant, corrected by the hand of a consul; and the professors of grammar, rhetoric, and jurisprudence, were maintained in their privileges and pensions, by the liberality of the Gottes. But the crudition of the Latin language was insufficient to satiate his ardent curiosity; and Boethius is said to have employed eighteen laborious years in the schools of Athens, which were supported by the zeal, the learning, and the diligence of Proclus and his disciples. The reason and piety of their Roman pupil were fortunately saved from the contagion of mystery and magic, which polluted the groves of the academy; but he imblhed the spirit,

and both Timbouchi tion, till and Paleteins (Hild of Latter) may be needfully convolted. The state of his high may be placed about the your 470, and his death to 574, in a premature old age, (Comot. Phr. Matricks is lo do.

[&]quot; For the age and value of this MS, now in the Medicean library. at Florence, we the Constantial Person up, 450-447; of Cardinal North

^{*} The Athenian studies of Roythbus are doubtful, tharming A. D. \$10; No. 8, from a spurious tract; De Disciplina Scholarum), and the term of eightness years in doubtless too long r but the simple fact of a visit to Athena is justified by much internal syldence, (Brucker, Hist. Cett. Phil - ph. tom. iii, p. 574-127), and by no expression climight vagor and aminguous of his friend Cassidorius, (Var. i. 45), " long" positar Athenia introcett."

and imitated the method, of his dead and living musters, who attempted to reconcile the strong and subtle sense of Aristotle with the devout contemplation and sublime funcy of Plato. Afterhis return to Rome, and his marriage with the daughter of his friend, the patrician Symmachus, Boethius still continued, in a palace of ivory and marble, to prostante the same studies." The church was edified by his profound defence of the orthodox creed against the Arian, the Eutychian, and the Nestorian heresies; and the catholic unity was explained or exposed in a formal treatise by the inds/ference of three distinct though consubstantial persons. For the benefit of his Latin readers, his genius submitted to teach the first elements of the arts and sciences of Greece. The geometry of Euclid, the music of Pythagoras, the arithmetic of Nicomuchus, the mechanics of Archimedes, the astronomy of Ptolemy, the theology of Plato, and the logic of Aristotle, with the commentary of Porphyry, were translated and illustrated by the indefatigable pen of the Roman senator. And he alone was esteemed capable of describing the wonders of art, a sun-dial, a water-clock, or a sphere which represented the motions of the planets. From these abstruse speculations, Boethius stooped, or, to speak more truly, he rose to the social du-

[•] Himbaldons complex chora scripts paratur, A.s. (Compl. Pall, 6.), pane, v., p. 74). The Episther of Limoshina (v., 6.; etc. 19; viii, 1, 31; 37; 40), and Consistentiae, (Var. 1, 38; ix, 6.; ix, 31), affect many pools of the high regulation which he copacyed in his own time. It is true, that the higher parties want, the parties of him an old house of Milan, and praise might be tendened and accepted in part of payment.

ties of public and private life; the indigent were CHAP. relieved by his liberality; and his eloquence, which flattery might compare to the voice of Demosthenes or Cicero, was uniformly exerted in the cause of innocence and humanity. Such conspicuous merit was felt and rewarded by a discerning prince; the dignity of Boethius was adorned with the titles of consul and patrician, and his talents were usefully employed in the important station of master of the offices. Notwithstanding the equal claims of the East and West, his two sons were created, in their tender youth, the consuls of the same year." On the monorable day of their inauguration, they proceeded in salemn pomp from their palace to the forum, amidst the applause of the senate and people; and their joyful father, the true consul of Rome, after pronouncing anoration in the praise of his royal benefactor, distributed a triumphal largess in the games of the circus. Prosperous in his fame and fortunes. in his public honours and private alliances, in the cultivation of science and the consciousness of virtue, Boethius might have been styled happy, if that precarious epithet could be safely applied before the last term of the life of man-

A philosopher, liberal of his wealth, and parsis Ha parsmonious of his time, might be insemible to the common allorements of ambition, the thirst of gold and employment. And some credit may

^{*} Pagis Mitraunt, Acc ate aureoù that Beething himself was torred to the pair Alo, his two arm maff, and in 407, pullmps, his faller. A design of anything the last of these consultation to the plant or plant, bad perpensal the chromology of his hip. In his honours, allience, while time, he entalprings his own to help a bill your falletry, (p. 100, 110).

CHAP, be due to the asseveration of Boethius, that he had reluctantly obeyed the divine Plate, who enjoins every virtuous citizen to rescue the state from the usurgation of vice and ignorance. For the integrity of his public conduct, he appeals to the memory of his country. His authority had restrained the pride and oppression of the royal officers, and his eloquence had delivered Paulianus from the dogs of the palace. He had always pitied, and often relieved, the distress of the provincials, whose fortunes were exhausted by puhlic and private rapine; and Boethius alone had courage to oppose the tyranny of the barbarians, elated by conquest, excited by avarice, and, as he complains, encouraged by impunity. In these honourable contests, his spirit soured above the consideration of danger, and perhaps of prudence; and we may learn from the example of Cato, that a character of pure and inflexible virtue is the most apt to be misled by prejudice, to be heated by enthusiasm, and to confound private comities with public justice. The disciple of Plato might exaggerate the infirmities of nature, and the imperfections of society; and the mildest form of a Cothic kingdom, even the weight of allegiance and gratitude, must be insupportable to the free spirit of a Roman patriot. But the favour and fidelity of Boethies declined in just proportion with the public happiness; and an unworthy colleague was imposed, to divide and controll the power of the master of the offices. In the last gloomy season of Theodoric, he indignantly felt that he was a slave; but as his master had only power over his life, he stood without Char. arms and without fear against the face of an angry XXXIX barbarian, who had been provoked to believe that the safety of the senate was incompatible with his own. The senator Albinus was accused, and He is atalready convicted on the presumption of hoping, because as it was said, the liberty of Rome. " If Albinus "be criminal," exclaimed the orator, " the senate " and myself are all guilty of the same crime. If we are innocent, Albinus is equally entitled to " the protection of the laws." These laws might not have punished the simple and barren wish of an unattainable blessing; but they would have shown less indulgence to the rush confession of Boethius, that, had he known of a conspiracy, the tyrant never should." The advocate of Albinus was soon involved in the danger, and perlups the guilt, of his client; their signature (which they denied as a forgery) was affixed to the original address, inviting the emperor to doliver Italy from the Goths; and three witnesses of honourable rank, perhaps of infamous reputation, attested the tremmable designs of the Roman patrician. Yet his innocence must be presumed, since he was deprived by Theodoric of the means of justification, and rigorously confined in the tower of Pavia, while the senate, at the distance of five hundred miles, pronounced

⁵ Si ego seman tu nescisse. Bosinos singer chia ascese O. L. pros. 4, p. 83; of Julius Canno, who is philliosphie doubt is discribed by Senson, (De Tranquillitate Anton, c. 14).

The thursdays of his two fileness, flatting, (Var. ii, 10, 11; ic, 23), and Onlike, (v. 41 | vin. 10), are librarated, per much to their human, in the Episies of Camiodurus, which likewas mention Describes, (1-31), the worthless colleague of Burthing, (1. iii, et al. 5, p. 183).

CHAP. a sentence of confiscation and death against the XXXIX most illustrious of its members. At the command of the barbarians, the occult science of a philosopher was stigmatized with the names of sacrilege and mogic." A devout and dutiful attachment to the senate was condemned as criminal by the trembling voices of the senators themselves; and their ingratitude deserved the wish or prediction of Boethius, that, after him, none should be found guilty of the same offence."

Wie lengtiautoment. and death; A. Th. 42%

While Boethius, oppressed with fetters, expected each moment the sentence or the stroke of death, he composed in the tower of Pavia the Consolution of Philosophy: a golden volume not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully, but which claims incomparable merit from the barbarism of the times, and the situation of the author. The celestial guide whom he had so long invoked at Rome and Athens, now condescended to illumine his dungeon, to revive his courage, and to pour into his wounds her salutary balm. She taught him to compare his long prosperity and his recent distress, and to conceive new hopes from the inconstancy of fortune. Reason had informed him of the precarious condi-

"A secon impany was instituted onto the cross of maps, (Ver. 1), ir, ray ir, the and it was believed that many incrommeers had campost by making their pasters much for must, I should resid downly

[&]quot;, Roethma had compound his own Appliegy, op. 35%; perhaps more sectoresting than his Conscision. We good he ambient with the grtarnil elect of the honours, principles, personation, &c. ti. is presented p. 42-671; which may be compared with the short and weighty words of the Valesian Fragment, (p. 723). An autorimous writer (Sinney, Catalog, Mas. Holian, Horna term, C. p. 1979 sharger bire brome with homographic and patriotic tengage.

XXXIX.

tion of her gifts; experience had satisfied him of cuar. their real value; he had onjoyed them without guilt; he might resign them without a sigh, and calmly disdain the impotent malice of his enemies, who had left him happiness, since they had left him virtue. From the earth, Boethius ascended to heaven in search of the supmean good; explored the metaphysical labyrinth of chance and destiny, of prescience and free will, of time and eternity: and generously attempted to reconcile the perfect attributes of the Deity, with the apparent disorders of his moral and physical government. Such topics of consulation, so obvious, so varue, or so abstruce, are muffectual to subdue the feelings of human nature. Yet the sense of misfortune may be diverted by the labour of thought; and the sage who could artifully combine in the same work, the various riches of philosophy, poetry, and elaquenec, must already have possessed the intrepid calmness, which he affected to seek. Suspense, the worst of evils, was at length determined by the ministers of death, who executed, and perhaps exceeded, the inhuman mandate of Theodoric. A strong cord was fastened round the head of Boethius, and forcibly tightened, till his eyes almost started from their sackets; and some mercy may be discovered in the milder texture of heating him with clubs till he expired. But his genius

He was executed to Agro Calvettines, (Calemania, le twen the rigonom and Panis, America, Valle, p. 723, by miler of Rambins count of Telemones Peols. The piece of his confinement is stand the legitics tory, an estable and more permitted to enthedralps. It technical by the propertied tradition of the church of Paris, The tawar of Restitute equalities all the year 1384, and the drawing is yet preserved. (Timebrachi, tam. III. p. 47, 48).

VOL. VIL

CHAP.

survived to diffuse a ray of knowledge over the darkest ages of the Latin world; the writings of the philosopher were translated by the most glorions of the English kings," and the third emperor of the name of Otho removed to a more honourable tomb the hones of a cutholic saint, who, from his Arian persecutors, land acquired the honourof marryrdom, and the fame of miracles. In the last hours of Boethius, he derived some comfort. from the safety of his two sons, of his wife, and of his father-in-law, the venerable Symmethus. But the grief of Symunchus was indiscreet, and perhaps disrespectful; he had presumed to lament, he might dare to revenge, the death of an injured friend. He was drugged in claims from Rome to the palace of Ravenna; and the suspicions of Theodoric could only be appeared by the bland of an innecent and aged senator.

Death of Symmechim, A. D. 525a

Remove and Seath of Thenderic, A. D. 526, August 20, Humanity will be disposed to encourage any report which testifies the jurisdiction of conscience.

a Sale the Balgregues, Riffennian, Access, come is p. 20, 20 decreases.

The work is rill more immersion if performed more decisioned eye or Alfred by his foreign and dimension dischers. For the personalism of fine-time in the middle ages, control Brucker, (this, Crit. Philosoph. 10m, ni., p. 505, 560).

The interplane on his new to mis was compount by the proceptor of Other the children of Pape Surveyor II, who, one Boston hamolic was sylled a magnetise by the upper space of the time. The confection one-tag and earlied his head in his bonds a consequence way, (Harmon, A. D. 575, Nr. 17, 1902 yet, on a similar value, a last of up appeals to the consequence of the conseque

Therefore applicate the parties of histories as less, (i. i., pine key 30), (ii. pine key 30), (ii. pine key 118). Proceeding (Goth L. s.e. is, the Valence Free street, (p. 124), and the Histories Morning (L. s.e. p. 103), agend in proceeding the appears in second to sure tag of Symmichian soul in the estimation of the ingent, the paint of the manning is equal to the life-

becoment of a proper.

CHAR.

and the remorse of kings; and philosophy is not ignorant that the most horrid spectres are sometimes created by the powers of a disordered laney. and the weakness of a distempered body. After a life of virme and glory. Theodoric was now descending with shame and guilt into the grave; his mind was lnumbled by the contrast of the past, and justly alarmed by the invisible terrors of futurity. One evening, as it is related, when the head of a large fish was served on the royal table," he suddenly exclaimed, that he beheld the angry countenance of Symmuchus, his eyes glaring fury and revenge, and his mouth armed with long durp to the which threatened to devour him. The mounted instantly retired to his chamber, and, os he lay trembling with aguish cold under a weight of hed-clothes, he expressed in broken murmurs to his physician Elpidius, his deep repentance for the murders of Boethius and Symmachus? His malady increased, and aftern dyser, tery which contiqued three days, he expresd in the palace of Kneenm, in the thirty-third, or, if we compute from the invasion of Italy, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign. Conscious of his uppr aching and, he divided his treasures and provings between his two grandsons, and fixed the thone is their

The third is not a supported of Calmind Flory the variety of my unit story fight may be extinged of section as dominion; and of the office of History of Sergy, and of the Hamilton, were greated on the table of Philipping (Var. 16, 11). The minimum contest of Daminion of the count, Serge m, 39; but been expected in the theory of the Adalastic

Prompton. Such t. I. S. I. But he might have inherent or, which he had received this curious inscalant to sweeterman regard, or from the mouth of the royal physician.

CHAE

common boundary." Amalaric was restored to the throne of Spain. Italy, with all the conquests of the Ostrogoths, was bequeathed to Athalarie; whose age did not exceed ten years, but who was cherished as the last male offspring of the line of Amali, by the short-lived marriage of his mother Amalasuntha with a royal fugitive of the same blood." In the presence of the dying monarch, the Gothic chiefs and Italian magistrates mutually engaged their faith and loyalty to the young prince, and to his guardian mother; and received in the same awful moment, his last salutary advice, to maintain the laws, to love the senate and people of Rome, and to cultivate with decent reverence the friendship of the emperor. The monument of Theredoric was creeted by his daughter Amalasantha, in a conspicuous situation, which commanded the city of Ravenna, the harbour, and the adjacent coast. A chapel of a circular form, thirty feet in diameter, is crowned by a dome of one entire piece of granite; from the centre of the dome, four columns arose, which apparted, in a

Processing Gath, I. e. e. L. e. 12, 13. This partition had been discribed by Planckers, though it was not corrected till after his death flegal hereditation superstransport, thatin, Chron. p. 221, eds. Gent.).

^{*} Harmannel, the mind in Janears from Resmanner, king of the Ostrogetta, but cettive into Spain, where he fived and died in december, of Et. p. 202; edit. Maranne). For the discourse, impulse, and doubt of his granilless Enthants, to 38, p. 200). His Romain games might render him popular, thus other on Christip in Earhane was exper in originate, (Aconys., Vales, p. 722, 720).

^{*}See the commets of Theisdorie, and the profugure of his emergor, in Processor, (South, & 4, & 1, Wr. Jacons.drv., to 55, p. 220, 221), and Caraladayure, (Var. viii, L-V). These epictics are the trimmph of his trimuster of cloqueter.

rase of porphyry, the remains of the Gothicking, CHAP. surrounded by the brazen statues of the twelve apostles." His spirit, after some previous expiation, might have been permitted to mingle with the benefactors of mankind, if an Italian hermit had not been witness in a vision to the damnation of Theodoric, whose soul was plunged, by the ministers of divine vengeance, into the vulcano of Lipari, one of the flaming mouths of the infernal world.

^{*} Anonym. Valen. p. 742. Agueilus de Virus Pout, Slaven. in Morning Surigit. Record Ind. tom. 11, P. 1, p. 67. Alberti Descrittime (Plutia, t-DUTE

^{4.} This begand recolored by houses; I, (Dates, iv, 50), and appeared by Sergon, (A. D. 526, N. 28;; and both the paper and manhand and grave directors, sufficient to excellent a probable appetus.

Thursdown kinneds, or rather Castingorius, and described in trapic strains the sulmines of Linux, Cluver, Seilin, p. 494-1101, and Vaaugust, (cc., \$5%)

CHAP, XL.

Elevation of Justin the elice-Reign of Justinian-1. The Empress Themlises—11. Furtions of the elevan, and edition of Constantings—114. Trade and anmifacture of sill—11. Finites a out mass—11. Edificial of Justinian—Church of St. Sophis—Fortifications and frontiers of the environ empire—Abelition of the whole of Albrew, and the consolving of Rosse.

Mark of the em-

Tun emperor Justinian was been near the ruins of Sardica, (the modern Sophia), of an obscure race of burbarians, the inhabitants of a wild and desolate country, to which the names of Dardania, of Dacia, and of Bulgaria, have been successively applied. His elevation was prepared by the adventurous spirit of his nucle Justin, who with two other peasants of the same village, desert-

^{*} There is some difficulty in the dark of the thirt, (Lode-by in VIII. Justinian), p. 12/11, from in the piece-she district Pederlans—the sillings Tomoroum, which he after rock described with he was an ephonomy. (D'Anville, Dist. in TArrill dis. 10m. 2234, p. 281-297)

The names of these theremore parameter are forther, and almore brighter. Justician is a translation of agreement, forther factor and almore suppresses of parts of the Sa had very parts of the Color of the color parameter as a submitted that where the suppresses of the color of the Vigilianity.

^{*} Lade sig (p. 127-135) attempts to justify the Auditor case of Justinian and Theodora, and to essent them - on a family five what the larger of Aurit; also been derived.

ed, for the profession of arms, the more asciul CHAE, employment of lashandmen or shepherds.4. On foot, with a scanty provision of biscuit in their knapsacks, the three youths followed the high-road of Constantinople, and were soon intolled, for their strength and stature, among the guards of the emperor Leo. Under the two succeeding reigns, the fortunate peasantemerged to wealth and honours; and his escape from some dangers which threatened his life, was afterwards ascribed to the guardian angel who watches over the fate of kings. His long and landable service in the Isaurian and Persian wars, would not have preserved from ablivion the name of Justin; yot they might warrant the military promotion, which in the course of fifty years he gradually obtained; the rank of tribane, of count, and of general, the dignity of senator, and the command of the guards, who obeyed him as their chief, at the important crisis when the emperor Annatusius was removed from the world. The powerful kinsmen whom he had raised and enriched, were excluded from the throne; and the enunch Amautius, who reigned in the palmer, had secretly resolved to fix the disdem on the head of the most obsequious of his creatures. A liberal donative, to conciliate the suffrage of the guards, was intrusted for that purpose in the hands of their commander. But these

A Section annalous of Procupies (c. 4) with the units of N. Alemanners. The maries would not have sink, in the super min decent appointing of purper, the Seast O and reduction of Romann. Yet why are those names the precent booms while Common borns was it not be proved to designed from the formance of the Odersey?

CHAP.

Envertion and reign of his tonete. Justin I. July 10; A. D. 327. April I. SE Aug. L.

weighty arguments were treacherously employed by Justin in his own favour; and as no competitor presumed to appear, the Dacian peasant was invested with the purple, by the unanimous consent of the soldiers, who knew him to be brave and A. D. ais, gentle; of the clergy and people, who believed him to be orthodox, and of the provincials, who yielded a blind and implicit salmission to the will of the capital. The elder Justin, as he is distinguished from another emperor of the same family and name, ascended the Byzantine throne at the age of sixty-eight years; and, had he been left to his own guidance, every moment of a nine years reign must have exposed to his subjects the impropriety of their choice. His ignorance was similar to that of Theodoric; and it is remarkable, that in an age not destitute of learning, two contemporary monarchs had never been instructed in the knowledge of the alphabet. But the genins of Justin was far inferior to that of the Gothic king : the experience of a soldier lmd not qualified him for the government of an empire; and, though personally brave, the consciousness of his own weakness was naturally attended with doubt, distrust, and political apprehension. But the official business of the state was diligently and faithfully transacted by the questor Proclus; and the aged curperor adopted the talents and ambition of his nephew Justinian, an aspiring youth, whom his uncle had drawn from the rustic solitude of Dacia, and

[&]quot; His cliented are pushed by Prorepose, (Fernic, 1-14 to 12). The question Provides was the District of Justinian, and the enemy of every unter adoption.

calucated at Constantinople, as the heir of his pri- CHAR. vate fortune, and at length of the castern empires

Since the cannot Aumntius had been defrauded appoint of his money, it became necessary to deprive him and oneof his life. The task was easily accomplished by 2 mountains. the charge of a real or fictitious conspiracy; and arthe judges were informed, as an accumulation of guilt, that he was secretly addicted to the Manichean heresy. Amantius lost his head; three of his companions, the first domestics of the palace. were punished either with death or exile; and their unfortunate candidate for the purple was cast into a deep dangeon, overwhelmed with stones, and ignominiouslythrown without burial, into the sea-The rule of Vitalian was a work of more difficulty and danger. That Gothic chief had rendered himself popular by the civil war which he boldly waged against Anastasius for the defence of the orthodox faith, and, after the conclusion of an advantageous treaty, he still remained in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, at the head of a formidable and victorious army of barbarians. By the fruil security of oaths, he was tempted to relinquish this advantageous situstion, and to trust his person within the walls of a city, whose inhabitants, porticularly the blue faction, were artfully inconsed against him by the remembrance even of his pious hostili-

Maniches opping hatyrian. They the factors melainstics; of Communicaple and Tyre, the format no more than an days after the docesns of Amstrolia. They produced, the latter equitoded, the commel's death, Observation, L. D. Sim, P. H. No. 15. Disney, Wiel-Earlies toma #11, p. 200, 200, from the Council, toma v, p. 182, 200,

CHAP. ties. The emperor and his nephew embraced him as the faithful and worthy champion of the church and state; and gratefully adorned their favourite with the titles of consul and general; but in the seventhmonth of his consulship, Vitalian was stabhed with seventeen wounds at the royal banquet;" and Justinian, who inherited the spail, was accused us the assessin of a spiritual brother, to whom he had recently pledged his faith in the participation of the Christian mysteries. After the fall of his rival, he was promoted, without any claim of military service, to the office of master-general of the eastern armies, whom it was his duty to lead into the field against the public enemy. But, in the pursuit of fame, Justinian might have lost his present dominion over the age and weakness of his uncle; and instead of acquiring by Scythian or Persian trophies the applause of his countrymen, the prudent warrior solicited their favour in the churches, the circus, and the senate, of Constantimopie. The entholies were attached to the nephewof Justin, who, between the Nestorian and

¹ His power, abstractor, and intentions, are perfectly explained by the Count to Stort, from it, politically. He was great-grandene of Asper, hervilling prince in the Loney Scribin, and count of the Cothis of oferest of Throne. The Bend, whom he good to I weer, my the assure Gothe of Jormodes, in Alb.

[&]quot; Justiciani patricij factione dicitor interferme falson, (Victor Yamatters, Chris. in Physics, Temp. Searget, P. J., p. 74. Processing (America, r., 7) review him a tyrum, but arknowledges the abit process which is well explained by Alemanaua.

[&]quot;In his coefficie youth (pine addresses) he had proved made time as an havings with Theodorie. For this envious fact, Alemaneses and Protops Asserting to 0, p. 34 of the first admining quater a MS. history of Junious, by the group or Thoughillion, Lindon is (p. 143) widos to their blut a midde!

Entychian heresies, trad the narrow path of inflex. cnar. ible and intelerant orthodoxy. In the first days No. of the new reign, he prompted and gratified the popular enthusiasm against the memory of the deceased emperor. After a schism of thirty-four years, he reconciled the proud and nagry spirit of the Roman pontiff, and sprend among the Latins a favourable report of his plous respect for the apostolic see. The thrones of the East were filled with entholic bishops devoted to his interest, the clergy and the manks were gained by his liberality, and the people were taught to pray for their fip ture savereign, the hope and pillar of the true religion. The magnificance of Justinian was displayed in the superior pomp of his public spectacles, an object not less sucred and important in the eyes of the multitude, than the creed of Nice or Chalcedon; the expense of his consulship was extended at two hundred and eighty-eight thousand pieces of gold ...twenty lions, and thirty leopards, were produced at the same time in the amphitheutre, and a numerous train of horses, with their rich trap-

pings, was lastowed as an extraordinary gift on the victorious charioteers of the circus. While he indulged the people of Constantinople, and received the addresses of foreign kings, the nephew of Justin assiduously cultivated the triandship of the sounte. That venerable name seemed to quality its members to declare the sense of the mation, and to regulate the

^{*} The economical biologist Juniors will be down be realter. See Direction A. D. A18-221, and throughour setting June was to the loss den to the with volume of his Arrest.

CHAP. succession of the imperial throne: the feeble Anastasius had permitted the vigour of government to degenerate into the form or substance of an aristocracy; and the military officers who had obtained the senatorial rank, were followed by their domestie grands, a band of veterans, whose arms or acclamations might fix in a tumultuous moment the dindem of the East. The treasures of the state were lavished to procure the voices of the senutors: and their manipous wish, that he would be pleased to adopt Justinian for his colleague, was commumented to the emperor. But this request, which too clearly admonished him of his approaching end, was unwelcome to the jealous temper of an aged monarch, desirous to retain the power which he was incupable of exercising; and Justin, holding his purple with both his hands, advised them to prefer, since an election was so profitable, some older candidate. Notwithstanding this reproach, the senate proceeded to decorate Justinian with the royal epithet of nobilissimus; undtheir decree was ratified by the affection or the fears of his uncle. After some time the langour of mind and body, to which he was reduced by an incurable wound in his thigh, indispensably required the aid of aguardian. He summoned the patriarch and senators: and in their presence soleannly placed the diadem on the head of his nephew, who was conducted from the palace to the circus, and sainted by the load and joyful applause of the people. The life of Justin was prolonged about four months, but from the instant of this ceremony, he was considered as

dead to the empire, which acknowledged Justini- cnaran, in the forty-fifth year of his age, for the lawful NIA sovereign of the East.

From his elevation to his death, Justinian go- The ones verned the Roman empire thirty-eight years seven and A to months and thirteen days. The events of his Att. Apr. reign, which excite our currous attention by their les, No. number, variety, and importance, are diligently related by the secretary of Beliancius, a chetocleian whom eloquence had promoted to the rank of senator and prefect of Constantinople, According to the vicissitudes of courageorservitude, of favour or disgrace, Procopins successively composed the Commo history, the paneggrie, and the satire of his own and the times. The eight books of the Persian, Vandalle, or and Gothic wars," which are continued in the fivebooks of Agathias, deserve our esterm as a loborious and successful imitation of the Attic, or

A This page of the older I made may be found in the survey Disputation to Marcothens, Wester, and John Malala, Gran, St. p. 130-1305, the last of whem On spite of Budy, Proligam, No. 18, 48, 48, 684, Octo, Head and ofter Justician, (Joycon's romarks, &c. rul. in. p. 289); in the Followthat History of Etagritus, that, o. L. 2, S. Sp. and the Europea of Thedierri, Certon, St. 373, and in California, ep. 362-2605; and Zerley. the rive p. 36-01), who may pass for an original,

" See the characters of Processua and Agather, in La Wath- la Vaye, thom, was p. 144-1745; Young, the Miderick Gravit, b. 6, c. 20, and Pabricing, (Bindlet, Greet, J. v. c. 6, tom. vi. p. 215-278). Their crim-mion bonnerable problem, betrays to assembly military, with a server

attended to permitted and philosophy.

blitthe seven first books, two Fernic, ton Vandalle, and these Carble, President has home of from Apon at the distance of previnces and were the suit has a duninglest hetre the name of Geshier, is a minimal service. citi minist suppliment down to the spring of the west 127, he in where it were not by Amilian vill 239, (Pag., Ciplin, A. D. 575,

CHAR, at least of the Asiatic, writer of ancient Greece, His facts are collected from the personal experience und free conversation of a soldier, a statesman, and a traveller; his style continually aspires, and often attains, to the merit of strength and elegance: his reflections, more especially in the speeches, which he too frequently inserts; contain a rich final of political knowledge; and the historian, excited by the generous ambition of pleasing and instructing posterity, appears to distain the prejudices of the people, and the flattery of courts. The writings of Procopius were road and applanded by his contemporaries ? but, although he respectfully laid them at the foot of the throng. the pride of Justinian must have been wounded by the praise of an hero, who perpetually eclipses the glory of his inactive sovereign. The conscious

The line we have of Postopies has been more than unforty. In \$110. books for Bails Gothies were stolled by Lamuert Aserie, and published (Volgani, 1239; Venet 1471, apad James ; Mattides, Almai, Typegraph, bam 1, wifit; posterior, ja 290, 201, 278, 205, la tile med tume, (See Ventine de Bier, Lat.), tily at \$5 and the fenille distance of the Venter Garmie de Latierali, trat. 10x, ye 2073. 2. His warte even southfaced by the first Lytin Drauthfully, Children by Permit. (Guernile, turn, etc., p. 210, 319; mail Baphart de Voltnerr, (Huetthe Chartes Inderpretations, par Islay, what this man even a compact that MS, or the Vations library, of which they were perfects, (Alexans, in Proint. America p. II. The Greek Aret was an proport till Mary by House the Line of Angalouigh, (Distinction to Rayle, tion, it, p. 782). L. The Plans officials was suspendently assessed by Claude Majorey a Joseph of Thombone, the 1000h, for the mile from the Lourse present the Yudine MS. Gross which, however, he observed some surplements. His primi-All communications Are horse never approprial. This Agentina of Laydon (1991) has been wisely represent by the Paragelline, with the Latin which of Sonsymmer Valences, a learned interposter, (Rurl, p. 570L

^{*} Agestina in Product p. 7, 8, 1 to, o. 185. Brogston, 1 to, v. 185 Not likewise Pleasing, cont. Jung p. 60.

CHAP,

dignity of independence was subdued by the hopes and fears of a slave; and the secretary of Belisurius laboured for pardon and reward in the six books of the imperial edificer. He had dexterously chosen a subject of apparent spiculour, in which he could loudly celebrate the genius, the magnificence, and the piety of a prince, who, both as a conquerorand legislator, had surpassed the proceile virtues of Themistocles and Cerus. Disappoints ment might urne the flatterer to secont revenge; and the first glance of favour might again tempt him to suspend and suppress a libel f in which the Roman Cyrus is degraded into an odious and contemptible tyranti in which both the emperor and his consort Theodoraure seriously represented as two demons, who had assumed an human form for the destruction of mankind.' Such base inconsistency must doubtless sully the reputation, and detract from the ere dit, of Procopins : yet, after

They seeked they be the ready with the Wall of the property of the seeked property of the s

Processor Assessed homest, (Profess of America et a. 2. M., and the americal er of Schemest as the lasts best by Poster, there is in p. 186, add. Kutters. The others of Bragation of a periodic series in Scheme (A. D. 148, N. 21) reposts the loss of this series interest in east thin in the Vations library, in his was storify, and we write published arcters years after the America will be bessed, but protect, resting of National Alexandrous, (Lodg. 1618).

^{*}Justingson are the perfect the most of Hermann - Annel of a st.—The short's here of dates from her had by that demonstate mortings mortist with a great demonst minds are the prince of the demons, instead of Justinian, on the through the annual of a marking, behild a her without furnished a loop waking without on briefly day for. Processing declares his sen and his friends besing a time distributed stories. It. 175

51-

CHAP. the venom of his malignity has been suffered to exhale, the residue of the ancedoles, even the most disgraceful facts, some of which had been tenderly hinted in his public history, are established by their internal evidence, or the authentic monuments of the times.\ From these various materials, I shall now proceed to describe the reign of Justinian, which will deserve and occupy an ample space. The present chapter will explain the elevation and character of Theodora, the factions of the circus, and the peaceful administration of the sovereign of the East. In the three succeeding chapters, I shall relate the wars of Justipian which achieved the conquest of Africa and italy; and I shall follow the victories of Belisarius and Narces, without disguising the vanity of their triumphs, or the hostile virtue of the Persinn and Gathic heroes. The series of this and the following volume will embrace the jurisprudence and theology of the emperor; the contraversies and sects which still divide the oriental church; the reformation of the Roman law, which is obeyed or respected by the nations of modern Europe.

Division of this volun of Juntheiter.

> Marth and vicus of the em-PITTON Thusberry

L In the exercise of supreme power, the first net of Justinian was to divide it with the woman whom he loved, the funous Theodora," whose strange elevation cannot be applauded as the tri-

^{*} Montaquies (Considerations mp in Grandout 4) he Dandinge des Remarks o was given tradit to these annalment, or connected, in with the sentence of the copier, and, 2, with the histority of Jus-Marin & Liver-

If For the life and running of the copping Theodore, are the Arresdents were especially a.4-3, 0, 19-13, 16, 17, with the learness " and of Alemaning a reference of which is always to product

tumph of female virtue. Under the reign of Ann. CHAP. stasius, the care of the wild beasts maintained by the green faction of Constantinople, was intrusted to Acacius, a native of the isle of Cyprus, who, from his employment, was surnamed the master of the bears. This honourable office was given after his death to another condidate, not withstanding the diligence of his widow, who had already provided a husband and a successor. Acacins had left three daughters: Comito," THEODORA, and Anastasia, the eldest of whom did not then exceed the age of seven years. Onn solemn festival, these helpless orphans were sent by their distressed and indignant mother, in the garb of suppliants, into the midst of the theatres the green faction received them with contempt, the blues with compassion; and this difference, which sunk deep into the mind of Theodora, was felt long afterwards in the administration of the empire. As they improved in age and beauty, the three sisters were successively devoted to the public and private pleasures of the Byzantine people; and Theodora, after following Comito on the stage, in the dress of a slave, with a stool on her head, was at length permitted to exercise her independent talents. She neither danced, nor sung, nor played on the flute; her skill was confined to the pantomine arts; she excelled in buffoon characters, and as often as the comedian swelled berchocks, and complained with

^{*} Compliance affects and a married to Street Sales of Arments, the father perhaps, at least she might be the mention, of the emperio Sc. place. Two implemes of Thusbard that he the same of Americans, (Aleman, 18, 30, 32).

XI.

CHAP. a ridiculous tone and gesture of the blows that were inflicted, the whole theatre of Constantinople resounded with laughter and appliance. The beauty of Theodora' was the subject of more flattering praise, and the source of more exquisite delight. Her features were delicate and regular; her complexion, though somewhat pale, was tinged with a natural colour; every sensation was instantly expressed by the vivacity of her eyes; her easy motions displayed the graces of a small but elegant figure; and either love or adulation might proclaim, that painting and poetry were incapable of delineating the matchless excellence of her form. But this form was degraded by the facility with which it was exposed to the public eye, and prostituted to licentious desire. Her venal charms were shandoned to a promismous crowd of citizens and strangers, of every rank, and of every profession; the fortunate lover who had been promised a night of enjoyment, was often driven from her hed by a stronger or more wealthy favourite; and when she passed through the streets, her presence was avoided by all who wished to escape either the scandal or the temptation. The satirical historian has not blushed, to describe the noked scenes

⁴ Her section was united at Constantinopie, on a porphysy referen-See Freezenic, the man is in a William by given bur portfull in the Ancedotes, in Till Aleman (p. 47) produces one from a Monte of Berrous, builted with pearls and jewife, and yet hundred.

A frequent of the Annalogue, up 9), supported the naked, was empressed by Alemannas, though extent in the Fattern Mb | nor has the defect from supplied in the Paris or Veries edition. La Marks to Vayer (both vitt. p. 134) gave the port hirs of this current and grantes proper, Germ's Hemirks, we to, p. 360), which he had received from Home, and it has been some published in the Mo-Anglatta, (time ill, p. 755-759), with a Latte version

CHAP.

which Theodora was not ashamed to exhibit in the theatre." After exhausting the arts of sensual pleasure, she most ungratefully marmured against the paraimony of Nature; but her murmurs, her pleasures, and her arts, must be veiled in the obscurity of a learned language. Afterreigning for sometime, the delight and contempt of the capital, she condescended to accompany Eccholus, anative of Tyre, who had obtained the government of the African Pentapolis. But this union was fruil and transient: Ecebolus soon rejected an expensive or faithless concubine; she was reduced at Alexandrig to extreme distress; and in her laborious return to Constantinople, every city of the East admired and enjoyed the fair Cyprian, whose merit appeared to justify her descent from the peculiar island of Venus. The vague commerce of Theodora, and the most detestable precautions, preserved her from the danger which she feared; yet

[&]quot;After the minimum of a narrow gibille, far more could appeal aterbnished in the theatres. Production this process.— Assert remains to a replace force some. Ourself a room a party direction of the force of the force of the farmed project.

Specially in the farmed project of the farmed project.

The farmed project of the farmed project of the farmed project.

^{*} Transfers corporate the Criege of Ausonies, (Epigraes tent), who benitated the registed Junes of the Fernales of Note. See Quantities Institut vill, 6, and Terrection of Herst. Sermon. It is not. 7, v. 101. At a measurable copper, thirty slaves waited cound the believ rearyoning men feasible with Theodolia. Her chaffin was assessed.

Et thints this, unders saists, recent.

[&]quot; The sea" your specimens appelling a measure or from heappoints in he are an older more appropriate a second specimen, area located as an empty opening. She might him a fourth altery on which she might pour littletons to the good of form.

XL.

CHAP, once, and once only, she became a mother. The infant was saved and educated in Arabia, by his father, who imparted to him on his death-bed, that he was the son of an empress. Filled with ambitious hopes, the unsuspecting youth immediately hastened to the palace of Constantinople, and was admitted to the presence of his mother. As he was never more seen, even after the decense of Theodora, she deserves the foul imputation of extinguishing with his life a secret so offensive to her imperial virtue.

TION MARKS riage with Jantinian.

In the most abject state of her fortune and reputation, some vision, either of sleep or of fancy, had whispered to Theodora the pleasing assurance that she was destined to become the spouse of a potent monarch. Conscious of her approaching greatness, she returned from Paphlagonia to Constantinople; assumed, like a skilful actress, a more decent character; relieved her poverty by the laudable industry of spinning wool; and affected a life of chastity and solitude in a small house, which she after wardschanged into a magnificent temple." Her beauty, assisted by art or accident, som attracted, cuptivated, and fixed, the patrician Justinian, who already reigned with absolute sway under the mame of his nucle. Perhaps the contrived to enhance the value of a gift which she had so often lavished on the meanest of munkind : perhaps she inflamed, at first by modest delays,

Ancopus, de Antiquiert, C. P. I. III, 135, in Bandico Impersus Owns time hip the Linbeld up this argue on his that They there were the new purpose interest and the state of a limit despite this first the her second and sharter residence at Community opto-

and at last by sensual allurements, the desires of CHAR. a lover, who from nature or devotion was addicted to long vigils and absternions diet. When his first transports had subsided, she still maintained the same accendant over his mind, by the more solid merit of temper and understanding. Justinian delighted to ennoble and enrich the object of his affection; the treasures of the East were poured at her feet, and the nephew of Justin was determined, perhaps by religious scruples, to bestow on his concubine the sacred and legal charucter of a wife. But the laws of Rome expressly prohibited the marriage of a senator with any female who had been dishonoured by a service origin or theatrical profession: the suppress Luspicina, or Euphemia, a barbarian of rustic manners, but of irrepropehable virtue, refused to zecept a prostitute for her niece; and even Vigilantia, the superstitious mother of Justinian, though she acknowledged the wit and benuty of Theodora, was seriously apprehensive, lest the levity and arrogance of that artful paramour might corrupt the piety and happiness of her son. These chatacles were removed by the inflexible constancy of Justinian. He patiently expected the death of the empress; he despised the tears of his mother, who soon sunk under the weight of her affliction; and a law was promulgated in the name of the emperor Justin, which abolished the rigid jurisprudence of antiquity. A glorious repentance (the words of the edict) was left open for the unhappy females who had prostituted their persons on the theatre, and they were permitted to contract a legal union with the most illustrious

XL-

CHAR. of the Romans. This indulgence was speedily followed by the solemn nuptials of Justinian and Theodora; her dignity was gradually exalted with that of her lover; and, as soon as Justin had invested his nephew with the purple, the patriarch of Constantinople placed the diadem on the heads of the emperor and empress of the East. But the usual honours which the severity of Roman manners had allowed to the wives of princes, could not satisfy either the ambition of Theodora or the fondness of Justinian. He seated her on the throne as an equal and independent colleague in the sovereignty of the empire, and an oath of allegiance was imposed on the governors of the provinces in the joint names of Justinian and Theodorn. The eastern world fell prostrate before the genius and fortune of the daughter of Acacius. The prostitute who, in the presence of innumerable spectators, had polluted the theatre of Constantinople, was adored as a queen in the same city, by grave magistrates, orthodox hishops, victorious generals, and captive monarchs.

> + See the old love in Justinian's Code, U. v. lib. v. leg. To till navil, beg. 1), under the years 338 and \$54. The new edict tabout the pear off or lift, Aleman, p. 38, 30) very awarened repeals no Prose than the clause of mulicon secures, libertion, talermerin. See the norms 89 and 117, and a Greek reserve from Justinian to the Michops, Chleman, p. 415. -

* I waster by the father, &c. by the Virgin Mary, by the four Gurpuls, que in manibus tence, and by the hely archangely Michael and Gabriel, puram con-ricultura germanumque agrettura me servaruram. sarrationimis DDNN, Justiniano et Theodore emijugi ejus. (Novuil. wile, 114. 3). Would the path have been binding to favour of the widrw? Communes tituli et triumph), &c. (Alemae. p. \$7. 49).

s " Let greateers own her, and she's mean to more," &r. Without Warburton's critical telescope, I about 10 ver have seen, bothgeneral picture of principlant vice, any personal altasis to Thousas.

Those who believe that the female mind is to- CHAP. tally deprayed by the loss of chastity, will eagerly ______ listen to all the invectives of private envy or popolar resentment, which have dissembled the virtues of Theodora, exaggerated her vices, and condemned with rigour the venal or voluntary sins of the youthful harlot. From a motive of shame or contempt, she often declined the service hoinage of the multitude, escaped from the odious light of the capital, and passed the greatest part of the year in the palaces and gurdens which were pleasantly seated on the sea coast of the Propontis and the Bosphorus. Her private hours were devoted to the prudent as well as grateful care of her beauty, the luxury of the bath and table, and the long slumber of the evening and the morning. Her secret apartments were occupied by the favourite women and cunuchs, whose interests and passions she indulged at the expence of justice; the most illustrious personages of the state were crowded into a dark and sultry untichamber, and when at last, after tedious attendance, they were admitted to kiss the feet of Theodara, they experienced, as her humour might suggest, the silent arrogance of an empress, or the capricious levity of a comedian. Her rapacious avarice to accumulate an immense treasury, may be excused by the apprehension of her husband's death, which could leave no alternative between rum and the throne; and fear as well as ambition might exasperate Theodorn against two generals, who, during a malady of the emperor, had rashly declared that they were not disposed toncCHAR.

quiesce in the choice of the capital. But the reproach of cruelty, so repugnant even to her softer vices, has left an indetible stain on the memory of Theodora. Her numerous spies observed, and zealously reported, every action, or word, or lank, injurious to their royal mistress. Whomsoever they accused were east into her peculiar prisons," inaccessible to the inquiries of justice; and it was rumoured, that the torture of the rack, or acourge, had been inflicted in the presence of a female tyrant, insensible to the voice of prayer or of pity. Some of these unhappy victims perished in deep unwholesame dangeons, while others were permitted, after the loss of their limbs, their reason, or their fortune, to appear in the world the living monuments of her vengeance, which was commonly extended to the children of those whom she had suspected or injured. The senator or bishop, whose death or exile Theodora had pronounced, was delivered to a trusty messenger. and his diligence was quickened by a menace from her own mouth. " If you fail in the exe-" cution of my commands. I swear by him who " liveth for ever, that your skin shall be flaved " from your body."

Her vir-

If the creed of Theodorn had not been tainted with heresy, her exemplary devotion might have

Her primes, a laborinita, a Tarnesia, (Absorber et S. were nuder the pulses. Trackness is prophisms to empity, but it is Microse formerable to calogreey, and dening.

A more joints whipping was indirect on Saturnians. We precoming to say that his wife, a favourite of the suppress, but not been found appleas, (Amendet of 17).

^{*} Per viventum je metula exemust te faciam. Amerianus de Vitti Punt, Bernar, le Vigillo, p. 40.

atoned, in the opinion of her contemporaries, for CHAP. pride, avarice, and cruelty. But if the employed her influence to assuage the intolerant fury of the emperor, the present age will allow some merit to her religion, and much indulgence to her specielative errors. The name of Theodorn was introduced, with equal honour, in all the pious and charitable foundations of Justinian; and the most benevolent institution of his reign may be ascribed to the sympathy of the empress for her less fortunate sisters, who had been seduced or compelled to embrace the trade of prostitution. A palace, on the Asiatic side of the Boushorns, was converted into a stately and spacious mountary, and a liberal maintenance was assigned to five hundred women, who had been collected from the streets and brothels of Constantinople. In this safe and holy retreat, they were devoted to perpetual confinement; and the despair of some, who throw themselves headlong into the sea, was lost in the gratitude of the penitents, who had been delivered from sin and misery by their generous benefactress." The prudence of Theodora is celebrated by Justinian himself; and his laws are attributed to the sage counsels of his most reverend wife, whom he had received as the gift of the deity." Her cou-

I Lindredge, p. 161-166. I give him credit for the charatable mtempt, although is had not much chartly to his temper, "

[&]quot; Company the Assentance to 12) with the Editoria (L. L. c. 11). Here differently stray the eather fact be enabled I. John Malain thomas in a 274, 173) singerer, that on this, or a similar according the valenced and clothed the gerla when the had purchased from the store at five erres a-piece-

[&]quot; Nervel with to An albeing to Thursdays. Her commiss real the name Darmonederni, (Aleman, p. 66).

cuar. rage was displayed amidst the tumult of the perple and the terrors of the court. Her chastity, from the moment of her union with Justinian, is founded on the silence of her implacable enemies: and, although the daughter of Acacius might be satisted with love, yet some applicase is due to the firmness of a mind which could sacrifice pleasure and habit to the stronger sense either of duty or interest. The wishes and prayers of Theodora could never obtain the blessing of a lawful son, and she buried an infant daughter, the sole offspring of her marriage." Notwithstanding this disappointment, her dominion was permanent and absolute; she preserved, by art or merit, the affections of Justinian; and their seeming dissensions were always fatal to the courtiers who believed them to be sincere. Perhaps her health had been impaired by the licentiousness of her youth; but it was always delicate, and she was directed by her physicians to use the Pythian warm baths. In this journey, the empress was followed by the pretorian prefect, the great treasurer, several counts and patricians, and a spiendid train of four thousand attendants: the highways were repaired at her approach; a palace was erected for her recention: and as she passed through Bithynia, she distributed liberal alms, to the churches, the monasteries, and the hospitals, that they might implore heaven for the restoration of her health."

2 See John Welsh, time II, j. 1747 Therptones, p. 1981 Freerome de Killer & v. e. E.

[.] Bt. Salar refused to gray for a uni of Threedira, lett be stimild prove an hurrile wave than Americana humanif, (Cyril in Vit. St. School agend Alemanic p. 30, 1005.

At length, in the twenty-fourth year of her marriage, and the twenty-second of her reign, she was consumed by a cancer; and the irreparable loss and death, was deplored by her husband, who, in the room A. D. 2008, of a theatrical prostitute, might have selected the purest and most noble virgin of the East.

II. A material difference may be observed in The facthe games of antiquity: the most entirent of the since of the
Greeks were actors, the Romans were merely
spectators. The Olympic stadium was open to
wealth, merit, and ambition; and if the candidates
could depend on their personal skill and activity,
they might pursue the footsteps of Diomede and
Menchans, and conduct their own horses in the
rapid career. Ten, twenty, forty, chariots, were
allowed to start at the same instant; a crown of
leaves was the reward of the victor; and his fame,
with that of his family and country, was chaunted
in lyric strains more darable than monuments of
brass and marble. But a senator, or even a citi-

Theodors (Texicologymes finite), (Vota: Tomorrow in Comm.), on such eccession, an arthodox mindle sweled against pity. Alemandris (p. 12, 13) understands the sarphy assemble of Theoglesses of all language, which does not simply author picty or reputations against purpose after year against after her death. St. Theodors is colorated by Paul Schnettering, (in Process, v. 25, 52).

As the persented the pages, and sejected a connell, Recording exhausts the names of Roy, Delita, Recoding, So, r after which by his recourse to his informal dictionary a cross-lateral-school discourse materials agilists splitth—source paretts disbotton, Ser Ar. (A. D. 548, Nr. 74).

[&]quot; Shout and feel the united pack of the Black a living picture of marriers, parallels, and the whole form and apiets of the characters. West's Dissertation we the Olympia Games their all-axis affinish and carbons and suthern's information.

NI-

zen, conscious of his dignity, would have blushed to expose his person or his horses in the circus of Rome. The games were exhibited at the expence of the republic, the magistrates, or the emperors : but the reinswere ahandoned to servile hands; and if the profits of a favourite charloteer sometimes exceeded those of an advocate, they must be considered as the effects of popular extravagance, and the high wages of a diagraceful profession. The ruce, in its first institution, was a simple contest of two chariots, whose drivers were distinguished by white and red liveries; two additional colours, a light green, and a cerulean blue, were afterwards introduced; and as the races were repeated twentyfive times, one hundred chariots contributed in the some day to the pomp of the circus. The four factions soon acquired a legal establishment, and a mysterious origin, and their funciful colours were derived from the various appearances of nature in the four seasons of the year; the red dog-star of summer, the snows of winter, the deep shades of autumn, and the cheerful verdure of the spring! Another Interpretation preferred the elements to the seasons, and the struggle of the green and blue was supposed to represent the conflict of the earth and sea. Their respective victories amounced either a plentiful harvest or a prosperous naviga-

^{*}The flur colours, affair, recent, penning, search, tryptomas the four example, recentling to Communities (Var. 181, 51);, who taxisfou much sets and adapted to this theatings approach. Of those release, the term first may be fairly translated, while, red, and press. Fourtains explained by opening, a most recommand vague of it is properly the sky reflected to the angle but explains and expressions, with allow the recommendations. Physical Research in the recommendation of the same of the same and the recommendations of the same and the recommendations of the same and the

tion, and the hostility of the linshandmen and outer mariners was somewhat less abourd than the blind NL ardour of the Roman people, who devoted their lives and fortunes to the colour which they had esponsed. Such folly was distained and indulged by the wisest princes; but the names of Caligula, Nero, Vitellius, Verus, Commodos, Caracalla, and Elagalmius, were involted in the blue or green factions of the circus: they frequented their stables, at Rose. applauded their favourites, chastised their antagonists, and deserved the esteem of the populace, by the natural or affected imitation of their manners. The bloody and tunnituous emilest contimucd to disturb the public festivity, till the last age of the spectacles of Rome; and Theodoric, from a motive of justice or affection, interposed his authority to protect the greens against the viclence of a consul and a patrician, who were persionatelyaddiciento the blue faction of the circus."

Constantinople adopted the follies, though not the conthe cirtues, of ancient Rome; and the same tace usually tions which had agitated the circus, raged with and the redoubled fury in the hipporirome. Under the reign of Anastasius, this popular frenzy was infiamed by religious real; and the greens, who had trencherously concealed stones and dargers under baskets of fruit massacred, at a solemn festival, three thousand of their blue adversaries." From the ca-

See Occapione Pervings & Units Committee, L. 4 of Bill 181. the write Association on Mornin's History of the Coppensation and Aleman, ad e. alli-

^{*} Marganian in Chron. p. 47. In-field of the embers would evenly he was the man exquisite terms of equality and executer. However, EN CEN

CHAL.

pital this pestilence was diffused into the provinces and cities of the East, and the sportive distinction of two colours produced two strong and irreconcilable factions, which shook the foundations of a feeble government? The popular dissensions, founded on the most serious interest, or holy pretence, have scarcely equalled the obstinacy of this wanton discord, which invaded the peace of families, divided friends and brothers, and tempted the female sex, though soldom seen in the circus, to exponse the inclinations of their lovers, or to contradict the wishes of their husbands. Every law, either human or divine, was trampled under foot, and as long as the party was successful, its deluded followers appeared careless of private distress or public calamity. The license, without the freedom, of democracy, was revived at Antioch and Constantinople, and the support of a faction became necessary to every candidate for civil or ecclesiastical honours. A secret attachment to the family or sect of Anastasius was imputed to the greens; the blues were zealously devoted to the cause of orthodoxy and Justinian," and their grateful patron protected, above five years, the disorders of a faction, whose sensonable tumults

Sentisies favours the bloom

> (A. D. 101) W. 4, 5, 6; is anticipal than the blues over ortholous but Tillemont is unger at the supposition, and will not allow any marry to be physicise. (Hist. des Eurp. ton., vi. p. 554).

^{*} See Proceeding, Persic. L. J., c. 24. In demonstrand the time of the decimer and of the government, the public is not more fermiorable tion the error historian. Alement up, 203 has quinted a few pursuafrom Gragory Navianton, which proves the inveterary of the will.

The partiality of Justinian for the bilines, (Ancedet e. 7). Is oftended by Evegous, (Hint Engles & iv, c. 221; Jaho Mafala, (noise, p. 198, 199), e-perially for Artischy and Theophanes, (p. 192).

overawed the palace, the senate, and the capitals CHAP. of the East. Insolept with royal favour, the blues affected to strike terror by a peculiar and barbaric dress, the long hair of the Huns, their close sleeves and ample garments, a lofty step, and a sonorous voice. In the day they concealed their two-edged poniards, but in the night they holdly assembled in arms, and in numerous hands, prepared for every act of violence and rapine. Their adversaries of the green faction, or even inoffensive citizens, were stripped and often murdered by these noctornal robbers, and it became dangerous to wear any gold buttons or girdles, or to appear at a late hour in the streets of a penceful capital. A daring spirit, rising with impunity, proceeded to violate the safeguard of private houses; and fire was employed to facilitate theattack, or to concent the crimes, of these factions rioters. No place was safe or sacred from their depredations; to gratify either avarice or revenge, they profusely spile the blood of the innocent; churches and alture were polluted by atrocious nurders; and it was the bonst of the assassins, that their dexterity could always inflict a mortal wound with a single stroke. of their dagger. The dissolute youth of Constantinople adopted the blue livery of disorder; the laws were silent, and the bonds of society were relaxed; creditors were compelled to resign their obligations; judges to reverse their sentence; masters to enfranchise their slaves ; fathers to supply the extravagance of their children; noble matrons were prestituted to the last of their servants; beautiful boys were torn from the arms of

CHAP. their parents; and wives, unless they preferred # voluntary death, were ravished in the presence of their linsbands." The despair of the greens, who were persecuted by their enemies, and deserted by the magistrate, assumed the privilege of defence, perhaps of retaliation: but those who survived the combat were dragged to execution, and the unhappy fugitives escaping to woods and caverns, preyed without mercy on the society from whence they were expelled. Those ministers of justice who had courage to punish the crimes, and to brave the resentment of the blues, became the victims of their indiscreet zeal; a profect of Constantinople fled for refuge to the holy sepulchre; a count of the East was ignominiously whipped, and a governor of Cilicia was banged, by the order of Theodora, on the temb of two assessins whom he had condemned for the murder of his groom, and a daring attack upon his own life." An aspiring candidate may be tempted to build his greatness on the public confusion, but it is the interest as well as duty of a sovereign to maintain the authority of the laws. The first edict of Justinian, which was often repeated, and sometimes executed, announced his firm resolution to support the innocent, and to clustise the guilty of every

[&]quot; A wife, mays Precoping), who was mixed and almost ravished by a bits a sir, those becalf into the Borgherm. The histops of the a second Syrie (Aleman, p. 26) deplate a dealer minute, the guilt or grows of female chartity, and name the horeign.

The doubtful readil of Procepting (Amenda), at 17) is supported ty, the just partial Evagries, who confirms the tart, and specifies the turner. The crack fath of the profest of Continuellispie in retard

denomination and colour. Yet the balance of justice was still inclined in favour of the blue faction, by the secret affection, the habits, and the fears of the emperor; his equity, after an apparent struggle, submitted, without reluctance, to the implerable passions of Theodora, and the empress never forgot, or forgave, the injuries of the comedian. At the accession of the younger Justin, the proclamation of equal and rigorous justice indirectly condemned the partiality of the former reign. " Ye blues, Justinian is no more! ye " greens, he is still plive !""

A sedition, which almost had Constantinople in Seith of ashes, was excited by the mutual batred and mos mosts. mentary reconciliation of the two factions: In turnened the fifth year of his reign, Justinian celebrated the A B ass, festival of the ides of January: the games were incessantly disturbed by the clamorous discontent of the greens; till the twenty-second race, the emperor maintained his silent gravity; at length, violding to his impatience, he condescended to hold, in abrupt sentences, and by the voice of a crier, the most singular dialogue" that ever passed between a prince and hissubjects. Their first complaints were respectful and modest; they accused the subordinate ministers of oppression, and pro-

⁺ See John Malitin, fram, lie, p. 147); yet he seem that Justicular was attached to the blocs. The securing disparel of the emperor and Theodorn, is perhaps thewed with the much jeakens and estimate of by Processure, (Aucreton c. 10): 5ee Alteres, Process p. f.

This dialogue, which Thoughants has presented, exhibits the populse language, as well as the mainteen, of Continuitoople in the city, country. Their Greek is mingled and many manus and technique tomes, for which Decorps cannot always find a meeting or etymology.

CHAP. claimed their wishes for the long life and victory of the emperor. " Be patient and attentive, ye " insolent railers !" exclaimed Justinian; " be " mute, ye Jews, Samaritans, and Manicha ana!" The greens still attempted to awaken his conspassion. " We are poor, we are innocent, we are " injured, we dare not pass through the streets: a general persecution is exercised against our " name and colour. Let us die, O emperor! but " let us die by your command, and for your ser-" vice " But the repetition of partial and passionate invectives degraded, in their eyes, the majesty of the purple; they renounced allegiance to the prince who refused justice to his people; lamented that the father of Justinian had been born; and branded his son with the opprobrious names of air homicide, an ass, and a perjured tyrant. " Do you despise your lives?" cried the indiguant monarch: the blues rose with fury from their seats; their hostile clamours thundered in the hippodrome; and their adversaries, deserting the unisjual contest, spread terror and despair through the streets of Constantinople. At this dangerous moment, seven notorious assassins of both factions, who had been condemned by the prefect, were carried round the city, and afterwards transported to the place of execution in the suburb of Pera. Four were immediately beheaded; a fifth was hanged; but when the same punishment was inflicted on the remaining two, the cope broke, they fell alive to the ground, the populace applauded their escape, and the monks of St. Co-

non, issning from the neighbouring convent, con- CHAP. voyed them in a bout to the sanctuary of the XL church. As one of these criminals was of the blue, and the other of the green livery, the two factions were equally provoked by the cruelty of their oppressor, or the ingratitude of their patron; and a short truce was concluded till they had delivered their prisoners, and satisfied their revenge. The palace of the prefect, who withstood the seditions torrent, was instantly burnt, his officers and guards were massucred, the prisons were forced open, and freedom was restored to those who could only use it far the public destruction-A military force, which had been despatched to the aid of the civil ungistrate, was fercely encountered by an armed multitude, whose numbers and boldness continually increased; and the Heruli, the wildest barbarians in the service of the empire, overturned the priests and their relies, which, from a pican motive, had been rathly interposed to separate the bloody conflict. The tumult was exasperated by this sacrilege, the people fought with enthusiasm in the cause of God; the women, from the roofs and windows, showered stones on the heads of the soldiers; who durted firebrands against the houses; and the various flames, which had been kindled by the hands of citizens and strangers, spread without control over the face of the city. The conflagration involved the cathedral of St. Sophia, the baths of Zeuxippus, a part of the palace, from the first en-

^{*} See this church and municipy in Burnings, C. F. Christians, b. iv, p. 14th.

CHAP.

trance to the altar of Mars, and the long portico from the palace to the forum of Constantine; a large hospital, with the sick patients, was consumed; many churches and stately edifices were destroyed, and an immense treasure of gold and silver was either melted or lost. From such scenes of horror and distress, the wise and wealthy citizens escaped over the Bosphorus to the Asiatic aide; and during five days Constantinople was abandoned to the factions, whose watch-word, NTRA, canquish f has given a name to this memorable sedition.

The distress of Justinian-

As long as the factions were divided, the triamphant blues, and desponding greens, appeared to behold with the same indifference the disorders of the state. They agreed to consure the corrupt management of justice and the finance; and the two responsible ministers, the artful Tribonian, and the rapacious John of Cappadocia, were loudly arraigned as the authors of the public misery. The peaceful immrmurs of the people would have been disregarded: they were beard with respect when the city was in flames; the questor, and the prefect, were instantly removed, and their offices were filled by two senators of blameless integrity. After this popular concession, Justinian proceeded to the hippodrome to confess his own errors, and to accept the repentance of his grateful subjects; but they distrusted his assurances, though solemnly pro-

^{*} The initiary of the Note solidion is extended from Marcellinus, (in Colona) i Procession, (Perale I. I. e. 20); John Mahila, (1911, il. 215-215); Clara. Parchal. (p. 236-146); Thoughanes, (Chronograph. p. 114-118), and Zimares, (il. air, p. 41-42).

nounced in the presence of the holy gospels; and cuar. the emperor, alarmed by their distrust, retreated with precipitation to the strong fortress of the nalace. The obstinacy of the tumuit was now imputed to a secret and amhitious conspiracy, and a suspicion was entertained, that the insurgents, more especially the green faction, had been supplied with arms and money by Hypatius and Pompey, two patricians, who could neither forget with honour, nor remember with safety, that they were the nephews of the emperor Anastasias. Capricionsly trusted, disgraced, and pardoned, by the jealous levity of the monarch, they had appeared as loval servants before the throne; and during five days of the tunnelt, they were detained as important hostages; till at length, the fears of Justinian prevailing over his prudence, he view. ed the two brothers in the light of spies, perhaps of assassins, and sternly commanded them to depart from the palace. After a fruitless representation, that obedience might lead to involuntary treason, they retired to their houses, and in the morning of the sixth day, Hypatius was surrounded and seized by the people, who, regardless of his virtuous resistance, and the tears of his wife, transported their favourite to the forum of Constantine, and, instead of a dindem, placed a rich collar on his head. If the nsurper, who afterwards pleaded the merit of his delay, had complied with the advice of his senate, and arged the fury of the multitude, their first irresistible effort might have oppressed or expelled his trembling competitor. The Byzantine palace enjoyed a

CHAP free communication with the seat ressels lay ready at the garden stairs; and a secret resolution was already formed, to convey the emperor with his family and treasures to a safe retreat, at some distance from the capital.

Firmness of Thus ofors.

Justinian was lost, if the prostitute whom he raised from the theatre had not renounced the timidity, as well as the sirtues, of her sex. In the midst of a council, where Belisarius was present, Theodora alone displayed the spirit of an hero; and she alone, without apprehending his future hatred, could save the emperor from the imminent danger, and his unworthy ferrs. " If flight." said the consort of Justinian, "were the only means of safety, yet I should disdain to fly. Death is " the condition of our birth; but they who have " reigned should never survive the less of dignity and dominion. I implore heaven, that I may " never be seen, not a day, without my diadem " and purple; that I may no longer behold the " light, when I cease to be saluted with the name of queen. If you resolve, O Casar' to fiv, you " have treasures; behold the sea, you have ships; " but tremble lest the desire of life should expose " you to wretched exile and ignominious death. " For my nwn part, I adhere to the maxim of na-" tiquity, that the throne is a glorious sepulchre." The firmness of a woman restored the courage to deliberate and act, and courage soon discovers the resources of the most desperate situation. It was an easy and a decisive measure to revive the animosity of the factions; the blue were autonished at their own guilt and folly, that a trifling injury should provoke them to conspire with their imple.

capable enemics against a gracious and liberal bene- CHAE. factor; they again proclaimed the majesty of Justinian, and the greens, with their upstart emperor, The sonwere left alone in the hippostrome. The fidelity of the is amthe guards was doubtful; but the military force of Justinian consisted in three thousand veterans, who had been trained to valour and discipline in the Persian and Illyrian wars. Under the command of Belisarius and Mundus, they silently marched in two divisions from the palace, forced their obscure way through narrow passages, expiring flames, and falling edifices, and burst open at the same moment the two opposite gates of the hippodrome. In this narrow space, the disorderly and affrighted crowd was inequalite of resisting on either side a firm and regular attack; the blues signalized the fury of their repentance; and it is computed, that above thirty thousand persons were slam in the merciless and promiscious carriage of the day. Hypatius was dragged from his throne, and conducted with his brother Pompey to the feet of the emperor: they implored his elemency; but their crime was manifest, their innocence uncertain, and Justinian had been too much terrified to forgive. The next morning the two nephews of Anastasias, with eightorn illustrious accomplices, of patrician or consular rank, were privately executed by the soldiers; their bodies were thrown into the sea, their palaces caned, and their fortunes confiscated. The hippedrome itself was condemund thiring several years to a mouraful silence; with the restoration of the games, the same disCHAP

orders revived : and the blue and green factions continued to afflict the reign of Justinian, and to disturb the tranquillity of the eastern empire."

Agricule ture and snamifictures of smpire.

III. That empire, after Rome was barbarous, still embraced the nations whom she had conquered the eastern beyond the Hadriatic, and as far as the frontiers of Æthiopin and Persin. Justinian reigned over sixty-four provinces, and nine hundred and thirtyfive cities;" his dominions were blessed by nature with the advantages of soil, situation, and climate: and the improvements of human artified been perpetually diffused along the coast of the Mediterranean and the banks of the Nile, from ancient Troy to the Ægyptian Thebes. Abraham had been relieved by the well-known plenty of Egypt; the same country, a small and populous tract, was still capable of exporting, each year, two hundred and sixty thousand quarters of wheat for the use of Constantinople? and the capital of Justinian was supplied with the manufactures of

^{8:} Macentinus says in pre-ral terms, amamana populss in sinus tradidatis. Promptus amakers \$0,000 eletions and the \$5,000 of Thomphume are resulted to \$0,000 by the sours reacht Zanama. Scale to the named progress of emographics.

Blagories, a sentemporary of Jurchilan, compared his Zadaya D. (funeracin, p. Cilly, or review of the names provinces and sures, infrom the year \$35, (Westaling in Practit and Not. ad p. 635, &c.).

⁵ See the best of Generic, (iii, 10), and the administration of Jaorph. The senals of the Greeks and Hebrews agree in the surly are: and plenty of Agrees but this antiquity supposes a bing tester of tasprogrammatic and Warlaurton, where almost stufed by the Halingw, mallalend for the humarites chunnelegy, (Divine Lagries, wil ill, p. 22,

² Right millions of Homes small, beating a contribution of 80,000 gerry for the expenses of water-currings, from which the subject was gracionally exemped. See the minth Edies of Justinian a the minthers. are charled and verified by the agreement of the Glock and Latin texts

Sidon, fifteen centuries after they had been cole- CHAP. brated in the poems of Homer.' The annual powers of vegetation, instead of being exhausted by two thousand harvests, were renewed and invigorated by skilful husbandry, rich manure, and sensonable repose. The breed of domestic animals was infinitely multiplied. Plantations, buildings, and the instruments of labour and luxury, which are more durable than the term of human life, were accumulated by the care of successive generations. Tradition preserved, and experience simplified, the humble practice of the arts: society was enriched by the division of labour and the facility of exchange; and every Roman was lodged, clothed, and subsisted, by the industry of a thousand hands. The invention of the loom and distaff has been piously ascribed to the gods. In every age, a variety of animal and vegetable productions, hair, skins, wool, flux, cotton, and at length silk, have been shillfully manufactured to hide or aftern the human body; they were stained with an infusion of permanent colours; and the pencil was successfully employed to improve the labours of the loom. In the choice of those colours" which imitate the beauties of nature, the freedom of taste and fashion

' Romer's Inch. in. 259. There ruly, system research, were the wreat of the added to more. But this purpose is more homographs to the manufactures then to the new legitim of Photology from whomas they had been improved in Prop in Photographs to come.

elistics hoofe of art and amount

[&]quot;See in Order the Arms Armsoft, my next, have a postern had of twelve colours become from Almost, the elements, &c., that it is almost impossible to discretificate by surfacely the element out out of

oner, was indulged; but the deep purple which the Phonicians extracted from a shell-fish, was restrained to the sacred person and palace of the emperor; and the penalties of treason were denounced against the ambitious subjects, who dared to usurp the prerogative of the throne."

The me of ells, by the Romana.

I need not explain that silks is originally span from the bowels of a caterpillar, and that it composes the golden tomb from whence a worm emerges in the form of a butterfly. Till the reign of Justinian, the silk-worms who feed on the leaves of the white anolberry-tree, were confined to China; those of the pine, the oak, and the ash, were common in the forests both of Asia and Europe: but as their education is more difficult. and their produce more uncertain, they were generally unglected, except in the little island of

[&]quot; By the discovery of cochings), &c. we for surpose the column of arrigates. Their royal purple had a strong appell, and a dark cost on terp as builty blood .- Obsolities relieve, Dave Cassinderless, Vor. L. 2), algordo satguines. The president Gognet (Origina des Lois et der Arts, part it, b. it, v. 2. p. 184-215) will amove and addedy the reader. I dealer whether his today, arrestally in England, is an well Amount us is described by

[&]quot; Historical proofs of this posterny have been accordingly historicacet, and come more might have been added; but the arbitrary are of desputien were justified by the solar and several declarations of its. (Codes Theodorius, L. s., 10, 21, log. 5. Gales, Justimum I. St., 61, 9, log, 5). An inglistimus poetmission, and necessary restriction, was spplied in the same, the france-tirerry, (Und Thesian L 27, cit. 7, leg-111

^{*} In the history of Secure Har more wonderful them sheld's Mean morphores) the side-with bottle is remaining a price. The homber of the late of Coss, we described by Plice, Offist, Nature wis det, Wiwith the opins of the year harpen Jamite, Harden and Southers, may be disserted by a similar species to China, (Memotres ser les Chisubstitute like p. 513-5000 ; but our officerous, as well as the whole continues over make on to Thought and Philip.

Coos, near the court of Attien. A thin games CHAF. was procured from their webs; and this Cean munufacture, the invention of a woman, for female use, was long admired both in the East and at Rome. Whatever suspicious may be raised by the garments of the bledes and Assyriums, Virgil is the most ancient writer, who expressly mentions the soft wool which was combed from the trees of the Seres or Chinese; and this natural error, less marvellous than the truth, was slowly corrected by the knowledge of a vulnable insect, the first artificer of the hixney of nations. That rare and elegant his my was censured in the reign of Tiberius, by the gravest of the Romans; and Pliny, in affected though forcible language, has condemned the thirst of gain, which explored the last confines of the earth, for the permicious purpose of exposing to the public eye naked draperies and transparent matrons." A dress which showed the turn of the limbs, and colour of the skin, mucht gratify vanity, or provoke desire; the silks which had been closely waven in China, were sometimes unravelled by the Phomician women, and the precious materials were multiplied by a looser texture, and the

a Georgic, S. 121. Series quanto externs to time president or a most supplier being to Juni Casarie ave, time some non-inventances Juntos Lipolos, (Excerno i, al Taris, Amed. d. 22. See Him Contars, O. 2011, p. 255, edst. Remort), and Paramiles, (I. 11, p. 449). the lead who describes, however strangely, the force (meeti-

This lengthque side perture, of in public marries (gradient) at demand demand sente, (fills, v), 20, at, 51). Value and Publics Sprint had attendy played on the Tage continue, common tenters, under sente, the married senters, and senters and posters form. (Hereat, Street, L. Z. 101, with the cover of Tagerestics and Dancet).

CHAP.

intermixture of linen threads. Two hundred years after the age of Pliny, the use of more or even of mixed silks was confined to the temple sex, till the opulent citizens of Rome and the provinces were insensibly familiarized with the example of Elagubalus, the first who, by this effeminate habit, had suffied the dignity of an emperor and a man. Aurelian complained, that a pound of silk was sold at Rome for twelve ounces of gold; but the supply increased with the demand, and the price diminished with the supply. If accident or monopoly sometimes raised the value even above the standard of Aurelian, the manufacturers of Tyre and Berytus were sometimes compelled, by the operation of the same causes; to content themselves with a ninth part of that extravigant rate." A law was thought necessary to discriminate the dress of comedians from that of senators; and of the silk exported from its native country, the far greater part was collswned by the subjects of Justinian. They were still more intimately acquainted with a shell-fish of the Mediterranean, mrnumed the silk-warm of the sea; the fine wool or hair by which the motherof-pearl affixes itself to the rock, is now manufactured for enriesity rather than use; and a robe obtained from the same singular materials, was the

^{*} On the tracers, colding, comes, and not of the offs, half affe, and incer generally of antiquity, so the producing, prince, and electric resources of the great Scientifics, the Hist. Acquist, p. 185, 088, 330, 330, 344, 353, 384, 388, 334, 300, 315, one was greatest of the most common tention of Dijm or Layden.

[•] Piecessi Very one or Appellion & Ale in Hist. Augment-p. 22th. Sci Scienceing ad Hist. Aug. ps 2027, and Francisco. Exercision, its Scilinars, p. 694, 823. The American of Proceeding (c. 25) shale a partial and imparison rate of the price of slik in the time of Justician.

gift of the Researce emperor to the satraps of CHAP.

Armenia

A valuable merchandize of small bulk is to-topenpuble of defraying the expence of land-carriage; the firm and the caravans traversed the whole latitude of but and Asia in two hundred and farty-three days from the Chinese ocean to the sen-coast of Syria. Silk was immediately delivered to the Romans by the Persian merchants," who frequented the fairs of Armenia and Nisibis; but this trade; which in the intervals of trace was oppressed by avarice and jealousy, was totally interrupted by the long wars of the rival mongrehies. The great king might promily number Sogilians, and even Serica, among the provinces of his empire; but his real dominion was bounded by the Oxus, and his useful intercourse with the Sogdoites, beyond the river, depended on the pleasure of their conquerors, the white Huns, and the Turks, who successively reigned over that industrious people. Yet the most savage dominion has not extirpated the seeds of agriculture and commerce, in a region which is celebrated as one of the four gardens of Asia; the cities of Samarcand and Bochara are advantageously scated for the exchange of its various productions; and their merchants pur-

 Proceptor de Edif. Itali, c. 1. These places de mer preferinficial Smyrms, Sailly, Contra, and Minures 1 and 2 pair of gloves of their silk was presented to Pops Senedicz XIV.

^{*} Processing Person 5 to a 207 to the c. E. Gothier I Joy et 27. Minusche in Exercipe Legal, p. 107. Of the Persons of Persons and the transfer of Charas do Mathema Parabona, p. 7, 9; is Husban, Gorgraph. Minusco, term 10, and marked the route, and American Merco Constitution of Charas (b. p. 400) has enumerated the pressure.

CHAR. classed from the Chinese? the raw opmanufactured silk which they transported into Persia for the use of the Roman empire. In the vain capital of China, the Sogdian caravans were entertained as the suppliant embassies of tributary kingdoms, and if they returned in safety, the bold adventure was rewarded with exorbitant gain. But the difficult and perilous march from Samaround to the first town of Shensi, could not be performed in less than sixty, eighty, or one bundred days; as soon as they had passed the Jazartes, they entered that desert; and the wandering hords, unless they are restrained by armies and garrisons, have always considered the citizen and the traveller as the objects of lawful rapine. To escape the Tarter robbers, and the tyrints of Persia, the silk carnvans explored a more southern road; they traversed the mountains of Thibet, descended the streams of the Ganges or the Indus, and potiently expected, in the ports of Guzernt and Malabar, the annual fleets of the West." But the

[&]quot; The blind idmitation of the Jesum conficinds the different periods of the Channe himney. They are more reminally distinguished by M. de Gargery, tillion des Huns, som to part to in the Tables, part to in the Geography a Mamoirre de l'Academie des Inscriptions, ione xxelle execute mily smin, who dilenvers the gradest progress of the arath of the movie, and the entent of the monucky, till the Christian era. He has married, with a continue raw, the connections of the Chicago with the miles of the World but the empedition are elight, month, and observed a test olds the Barrains entortain a suspicion that the Serve of from presented on suspers ask indeper to their own-

^{*} The roads from China to Person and Hindoness may be investigated in the relations of Micklings and Thomast, (the understance of Shawells, Anthony Jonamum, the Pers Granier, &c., See Blance Hamway's Travels, val. i. p. 343-557). A communication through Table. the hear family explicited by the Kopfield supersigns of Burget.

danger of the deart were found less intolerable CHAP. than toll, lesson; and the loss of time; the attempt was scioon renewed, and the only European who has passed that unfrequented way, applands his own diligence, that in nine months after his departure from Pekin, he renched the mouth of the Indus. The ocean, however, was open to the free communication of mankind. From the great river to the tropic of Cancer, the provinces of China were subdued and civilized by the emperors of the North; they were filled about the time of the Christian era with cities and men. mulberry-treesand their precious inhabitants; and if the Chinese, with the knowledge of the compass, had passessed the gentus of the Greeks or Phoenicians, they might have spread their discoveries over the southern hemisphere. I am not aunlified to examine, and I am not disposed to believe, their distant voyages to the Penian gulf, or the Cape of Good Hope; but their ancestors might equal the labours and success of the present. race, and the sphere of their navigation might extend from the ides of Japan to the straits of Malacca, the pillars, if we may apply that name, of an Oriental Hercules." Without losing sight of land, they might sail along the coast to the extreme promontory of Achin, which is annually visited by ten or twelve ships laden with the productions, the manufactures, and even the artifi-

HOME DE T

^{*} For the Chiese was quited to Maliers and Arbits, pethops to Coples, for Remodel, our On top Maliers was Transfer as \$5-11, 15-17, 181-157; Damper, took hips 126; On the Philosophia des Arrivation, quantity to 58; and the Rich Courselle des Yogans, Committee, p. 2015.

CHAP.

cers, of China; the island of Sumatra and the opposite peninsula, are faintly delineated as the regions of gold and silver; and the trading cities named in the geography of Ptolemy, may indiente, that this wealth was not solely derived from the mines. The direct interval between Sumatra and Cevion is about three hundred leagues; the Chinese and Indian navigators were conducted by the flight of birds and periodical winds, and the ocean might be securely traversed in square-built ships, which, instead of iron, were sewed together with the strong thread of the cocos-nut. Cevion, Serendili, or Taprobana, was divided between two hostile princes; one of whom possessed the mountains, the elephants, and the luminous carbunele. and the other enjoyed the more solid riches of domestic industry, foreign trade, and the capacious harbour of Trinquentale, which received and dismissed the fleets of the East and West. In this hospitable isle, at an equal distance (as it was computed) from their respective countries, the silk merchants of China, who had collected in their voyages aloes, cloves, nutmeg, and sinital wood, maintained a free and beneficial commerce with the inhabitants of the Persian gulf. subjects of the great king exalted, without a rival, his power and magnificence; and the Roman,

^{*} The Laureley, or rather generate, of strate, flloy, Padriny, Arrent, Marente, &c. of the countries entirend of Cape Comparin, is finely illustrated by d'Asyllle, (Arriquité Goographique de Plade, especially p. 191-198). Our groupably of ladia is improved by communes and majores a soil has been illustrated by the especial magnetic with majores of Major Hannel. If he extreme the sphere of the implicite with the same critical knowledge and arguming, he will success, and may argue, the first of majore graphers.

who comfounded their vanity by comparing his CHAP. paltry com with a gold medal of the emperor Anastasius, had sailed to Cevlon in an Æthio-

pian ship, as a simple passenger."

As silk became of indispensable use, the em. lareducperor Justinian saw, with concern, that the Per- sorms into sinns had occupied by land and sea the monopoly Greece. of this important supply, and that the wealth of his subjects was continually drained by a nation of enemies and idolaters. An active government would have restored the trade of Egypt and the navigation of the Red Sea, which had decayed with the prosperity of the cuspire; and the Roman vessels might have sailed, for the purchase of silk, to the ports of Ceylon, of Malacca, or even of China. Justinian embraced a more humble expedient, and solicited the aid of his Christian allies, the Ethiopians of Abyssinia, who had recently acquired the arts of navigation, the spirit of trade. and the sea-port of Adulis," still decorated with the trophies of a Grecian conqueror. Along the African coast, they penetrated to the counter in search of gold, emeralds, and aromatics; but they wisely declined an unequal competition, in which

The Tentulane of Chay, avi. Th. Solimur, in 455, and Jahmen, Pilniance Exercise up. 185, 783), and most of the anticets, who aften confound the islands of Coylun and Summers, it more cirerly described by Comes Indusplanter; yet even the Christian try grapher has experienced its dimensions. His information methe ladion and Chinese trade is rate and dutinous, the p. 1884 hand p. 217, 530, edge, Monte. Concump-

Sie Prompilia, Perrie C. L. e Tita. C mes affante some m'rresting knowledge of the post and teachprise of Adults, (Topograph. Course, L. H. p. 178, 140-1470, and of the trade of the Axermites along the African senit of Berharia or Zings, up 136, 1397, and we far in Lapradone, il zi, p. 239),

CHAP. they must be always prevented by the vicinity of the Persians to the markets of India; and the emperor submitted to the disappointment, till his wishes were gratified by an unexpected event. The gospel had been preached to the Indians: a hishop already governed the Christians of St. Thomas on the pepper-coast of Malabar; a church was planted in Coylon, and the missionaries pursued the footsteps of commerce to the extremities of Asia. Two Persian monks had long resided in China, perhaps in the royal city of Nunkin, the scat of a monarch addicted to foreign superstitions, and who actually received an embassy from the lale of Ceylon. Amidst their pieus occupations, they viewed with a curious eye the common dress of the Chinese, the manufactures of silk, and the myriads of silk-worms, whose education (either on trees or in houses) had once been considered as the labour of queens, They soon discovered that it was impracticable to transport the short-lived insect, but that in the eggs a numerous progeny might be preserved and multiplied in a distant climate. Religion or in-

terest had more power over the Persian monks than the love of their country; after a long journey, they arrived at Constantinople, imparted their project to the emperor, and were liberally

See the Correlate missions in India, in Commer, G. 10, p. 110, 119 (L e), p. 537), and enrada Assensas. Heldlet. Orient (tem. 17, p. 413-548)

I The averation, completions, and general use of all, in China, any he sen is Dubaldia, (Description Gaussian of to Chine, nor. 0, p. 165, 200-275). The province of Challet is the most very said both for quality and quality.

encouraged by the gifts and promises of Justini- char. un. To the bisterians of that prince, a campaign at the foot of mount Cinicasus has seemed more deserving of a minute relation, than the labours of these missionaries of commerce, who again entered China, deceived a jealous people by concealing the eggs of the sllk-worm in a hollow cane, and returned in triumph with the spoils of the East. Under their direction, the eggs were hatched at the proper season by the artificial heat of dung; the worms were fed with mulberry leaves; they lived and laboured in a foreign climate: a sufficient number of latterflies was saved to propagate the race, and trees were planted to supply the nourishment of the rising generations, Experience and reflection corrected the errors of n new attempt, and the Sogdoite ambassadors noknowledged, in the succeeding reign, that the Romans were not inferior to the natives of China in the education of the insects, and the manufactores of silk, in which both China and Constantinople have been surpassed by the industry of modern Europe. I am not insensible of the benefits of elegant luxury; yet I reflect with some pain, that if the importers of silk had introduced the art of printing, already practised by the Chinese, the comodies of Menander, and the entire

^{*} Procupitio, L vist. Gothin iv. e. 17/ Theophones, Byzana apad Place Cod. laxure, p. 38. Zonorov, root. in h. ave., p. 40. Papi (toor. H, p. 6037 swiges to the year 302 this immerable importation. Memuster (in Execute Legat, p. 197) secutions are education of the Regulation and Thosphylas Structure it will be by during supersents the two great kingdoms in / Client / the spentry of suk-

CHAT.

decads of Livy, would have been perjetunted in the editions of the sixth century. A larger view of the globe might at least have promoted the improvement of speculative science, but the Christian geography was forcibly extracted from texts of scripture, and the study of nature was the surest symptom of an unbelieving mind. The orthodox faith confined the habitable world to one temperate zone, and represented the earth as an oblong surface, four hundred days journey in length, two hundred in breaith, encompassed by the ocean, and covered by the solid chrystal of the firmament."

State of the riverIV. The subjects of Justinian were dissatisfied with the times, and with the government. Europe was over-run by the barbarians, and Asia by the monks: the poverty of the West disconraged the trade and manufactures of the East; the produce of labour was consumed by the unprofitable servants of the church, the state, and the army, and a rapid decrease was felt in the fixed and circulating capitals which constitute the national wealth. The public distress had been al-

A Couract, mirrouned finalcoplements, or the Indian energetor, preformed his copage about the year 527, and composed at Abramitia, between 535 and 547. Christian Topography. (Montfancen, Profes. c. I), in which he estimate the improve opinion, that the mirth is a score time Photon had read this work, (Cod. 2228), p. 9, 10), which displays the projudious of a monte, with the knowledge of a matchester of the cover valuable part has been given in Preside, and in Greek by Mekrapeolec Theorems, (Relations Corriences, part 1), and the whole is since published in a splanded edition by the Pere Mentfacerum, (Nova Collectio Parroms, Parts, 1707, 2 sols, in fell, time its p. 115-516). Due the editor, a threshogien, might black as not discovering the Kesterion because of Comma, which has been deterred by in Cross, (Corpolimentary des Indias, turn is p. 10-56).

levisimish the economy of Anastusius, and that CHAP. prudent emperor accumulated an immense treasure, while he delivered his people from the most odious or oppressive taxes. Their gratitude universally applicated the abolition of the gold of affliction, a personal tribate on the industry of the poor! but more tolerable, as it should seem, in the form than in the substance, since the flourishing city of Edessa paid only one hundred and forty pounds of gold, which was collected in four years from ten thousand artificers. Yet such was the parsimony which supported this liberal disposition, that, in a reign of twenty-seven years, Anastroine saved, from his annual revenue, the enormous sum of thirteen millions sterling, or three hundred and twenty thousand pounds of gold. His example was neglected, and his treasure was abused, by the nephew of Justin. Theriches of Justinian were speedily exhausted by alms and buildings, by ambitious wars, and ignominious treaties. His revenues were found in-

Evagelos (I. His e. 39, 60) is mounts and grateful, and many with Community reducing the great Concretion. In collecting \$11 the backs and socreds of the tax, the humanity of Americans was diagond and artist; fathers were a motion a companied to prosperior their tregitters, (Zosler Hist. L. H. E. SS, pt. 165, 168; Lipsie, 1784). Timethers of Gaze chose stick an exent for the ordered of a tragedy, (wanted turn bit, p. 478), which covershated to the shollton of the ten, (Colsecone, ja 3h, --- tempty instance of it is truey of the use of the theater.

^{5 5}m James Stellies, in the Middlethern Orientalls of American, from it, p. 260s. This coprarim-our is sughtly seemed in the Chemistr of Phone.

^{*} Personplus (America c. 10) have this some from the report of the treasurers themselves. Thereins had recessive salling I but the millerout that his suppose from that of America lies.

KIL.

Avarior and profusion of Jostinian. adequate to his expences. Every art was tried to extort from the people the gold and silver which he scattered with a lavish hand from Persia to France:" his reign was marked by the vicissitudes, or rather by the combat, of rapaciousness and avarice, of splendour and poverty; he lived with the reputation of hidden treasures," and bequeathed to his successor the payment of his debts." Such a character has been justly accused by the voice of the people and of posterity: but public discontent is credulous; private malice is bold; and a lover of truth will peruse with a suspicious eve the instructive anecdotes of Procopius. The secret historian represents only the vices of Justinian, and those vices are darkened by his malevelent penell. Ambiguous actions are imputed to the worst motives; error is confounded with guilt, accident with design, and laws with almses; the partial injustice of a moment is dexterously applied as the general maxim of a reign of thirty-two years; the emperor alone is made responsible for the faults of his officers, the disorders of the times, and the corruption of his subjects;

Rengeror, (C. et. c. 20), in the next generation, was moderate and each unforced; and Zoomes, (L. 14, c. 61), in the width century, but could with every and thought without prejudice; yet their colours are nitured at those of the Anexantes.

[&]quot; Processing (Amenda), a. 20) when the lift conjectures of the times. The dusth of Justinian, they the scrat historian, will expect his recallly or parents.

^{*} See Coripson de Laudibus Justini Aug. I. il. 260, dec 584, &c.

[&]quot; Planing sum vira minimum neglicus pasteall,

[&]quot; Unde tot exhibitatos contraxia debita forms"

Communicated of gold source brought by strong areas into the hippa-drone-

[&]quot; Debra , mirreis parmible, muta recepit."

and even the colomities of mature, plagues, curth- CHAE. quakes, said immulations, are imputed to the prince of the demons, who had mischicvously asmmed the form of Justinian?

After this precaution, I shall briefly relate the anecdotes of avarice and rapine, under the following heads .- I. Justinian was sa profuse that he could not be liberal. The civil and military rendered officers, when they were admitted into the service of the palace, obtained an humble rank and a moderate stipend; they ascended by seniority to a station of affluence and repose; the annual pensions, of which the most honourable class was abolished by Justinian, amounted to four hundred thousand pounds; and this domestic economy was deplored by the venal or indigent courtiers as the last outrage on the majesty of the empire. The posts, the salaries of physicians, and the nocturnal illuminations, were objects of more general concern; and the cities might justly complain, that he usurped the municipal revenues which had been appropriated to these useful institutions. Even the soldiers were injured; and such was the decay of military spirit, that they were injured with impunily. The emperor refused, at the return of each fifth year, the customary donative of five pieces of gold, reduced his veterans to beg their bread, and suffered unpaid armies to melt away in the wars of Italy and Persia. H. The humanity of Boothis predecessors had always remitted, in some

The Alecchites (c. 11-14, 18, 20-30) supply many facts and many ampliture.

CHAP.

auspicious circumstance of their reign, the arrears of the public tribute; and they dexterously assumed the merit of resigning those claims which it was impracticable to enforce. " Jus-" tinian, in the space of thirty-two years, has " never granted a similar indulgence; and many " of his subjects have renounced the possession of " those lands whose value is insufficient to su-" tisfy the demands of the treasury. To the " cities which had suffered by hostile inreads. " Anastasius promised a general exemption of " seven years: the provinces of Justinian have " been ravaged by the Persians and Arabs, the " Huns and Sclavonians; but his vain and ri-" diculous dispensation of a single year has been " confined to those places which were actually " taken by the coemy." Such is the language of the secret historian, who expressly denies that asy indulgence was granted to Palestine after the revolt of the Samuritans; a false and odious charge, confuted by the authentic record, which attests a relief of thirteen centenaries of gold, (fifty-two thousand pounds), obtained for that desolate province by the intercession of St. Sabas. III. Procopius has not condescended to explain the system of taxation, which fell like a hail-storm upon the land, like a devouring pestilence on its inhabitants; but we should become the accomplices of his malignity, if we imputed to Justinian alone the ancient though

^{*} One to Scythoppine, capital of the second Fairrism, and twelve for the nest of the produce. Alexan. (p. 29) bear all produce this feet from a MS. life of St. Sabas, by his disciple Cyril, in the Vatiran library, and since published by Colettrus.

rigorous pengiple, that a whole district should char. be conditioned to sustain the partial loss of the XI... persons or property of individuals. The Anosa, resor supply of corn for the use of the army and capital, was a grievous and arbitrary exaction, which exceeded, perhaps in a tenfold proportion, the ability of the farmer; and his distress was aggravated by the partial injustice of weights and measures, and the expence and labour of distant carriage. In a time of scarcity, an extraordinary requisition was made to the adjacent provinces of Thrace, Bithynia, and Phrygia; but the proprietors, after a wearisome journey and a perilous navigation, received so inadequate a compensation, that they would have chosen the alternative of delivering both the corn and price at the doors of their granaries. These precautions might indicate a tender solicitude for the welfare of the capital; yet Coustantinonle did not escape the rapacious despetism of Justinian. Till his reign, the straits of the Hasphorus and Hellespont were open to the freedom of trade, and nothing was prohibited except the exportation of arms for the service of the burbarians. At each of these gates of the city, a pretor was stationed, the ininister of imperial avarice; heavy customs were imposed on the vessels and their merchandise; the oppression was retaliated on the helpless consumer: the poor were afflicted by the artificial scurcity, and exceptions. price of the market; and a people, accestomed to depend on the liberality of their prince, might sometimes complain of the deficiency of water

Mouopo-Diam.

CHAR, and brend. The aerial tribute, without a name, n law, or a definite object, was an annual gift of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, which the emperor accepted from his pretorian prefect; and the means of payment were abandoned to the discretion of that powerful magistrate. IV. Even such a tax was less intolerable than the privilege of monopolies, which checked the fair competition of industry, and, for the sake of a small and dishonest gain, imposed an arbitrary hurden on the wants and luxury of the subject. " As soon II transcribe the anec-" (lotes) as the exclusive sale of silk was usurp-" ed by the imperial treasuser, a whole people, a the manufacturers of Tyre and Berytus, was " reduced to extreme miscry, and either perish-" ed with hunger, or fled to the hostile do-" minions of Persia." A province might suffer by the decay of its manufactures; but in this example of silk, Procopius has partially overlooked the inestimable and lasting benefit which the empire received from the carinaty of Justinian. His addition of one-seventh to the ordinary price of copper-money may be interpreted with the same candour; and the alteration, which might be wise, appears to have been in-

> * John Malala (tom, II, p. 232) mentions the want of much, and Zename (1- niv. p. 63) the leaden pipes, which Juralaine, or his pertsees, alak from the equatoria-

> notent; since he neither allayed the parity, nor enhanced the value, of the gold coin," the legal

^{*} For me morne, one state of an ounce of gold, instead of 210, be give no more than 180 faller, or owners of support. A dispropertion of the mint, below the market being, must have seen produced a scarcity.

measure of public and private payments. V. The CHAP. simple jur shersen required by the farmers of the ... M. revenue to accomplish their engagements, might vocation. be placed in an offices light, as if they had purchased from the emperor the lives and fortunes of their fellow-citizens. And a more direct sale of honours and offices was transacted in the palace, with the permission, or at least with the connivence, of Justinian and Theodora. The claims of merit, even those of favour, were disregarded, and it was almost reasonable to expect, that the bold adventurer, who had undertaken the trade of a magistrate, should find a rich compensation for infamy, labour, dunger, the debta which he had contracted, and the heavy interest which he paid. A sense of the disgrace and mischief of this venul practice, at length awakened the shunbering virtue of Justinian; and he attempted, by the sanction of oaths' and penalties, to guard the integrity of his government : but at the end of a year of perjury, his rigorous edict was suspended, and corraption licentiquely abused her triumph over the impotence of the laws. VI. The testament of resp. Enlains, count of the domestics, declared the emperor his sole heir, on condition, however,

surreity of arnell mesory. In England, runles perce in supper would sail for no more those evers peace, (famile's Englany ton the Wealth of Nations, vol. 1, p. 40). Yes Justinion's gold coin, see England (b. 14, c. 20).

^{*} The each is concepted in the most formidable words, (Novella vitt, th. 1). The detailines improcess on themselves, quimput halont tells the present of Judes, the hipport of Girels the treasure of Cairs, Aca besides all temporal points.

CHAP.

that he should discharge his debts and legacies, allow to his three daughters adveent insintenance. and hestow each of them in marriage, with a portion of ten pounds of gold. But the splendid fortune of Eulalius land been consumed by fire; and the inventory of his goods did not exceed the trifling sum of five hundred and sixty-four pieces of gold. A similar instance, in Grecian history, admonished the emperor of the honourable part prescribed for his imitation. He checked the selfish morniurs of the treasury, applauded the confidence of his friend, discharged the legacies and debts, educated the three virgins under the eye of the empress Theodora, and doubled the marriage-portion which had satisfied the tenderness of their father." The humanity of a prince (for princes cannot be generous) is entitled to some praise; yet even in this act of virtue we may discover the inveterate custom of supplanting the legal or natural heirs, which Procopius imputes. to the reign of Justinian. His charge is supported by eminent names and scandalous examples; neither widows nor orphans were spared; and the art of soliciting, or extorting, or supposing testaments, was beneficially practised by the agents of the palace. 'This base and mischievous tyranny invades the socurity of private life; and the monarch who has indulged an appetite for gain will soon he tempted to unticipate the moment of suc-

A similar or more generous set of throughly is related by Lorents of Endemides of Couloth, the Tenner, c. 22, 22, logic ii. p. 550), and the story has produced an imperious, though today, consely of Pone panelle.

cession, is interpret wealth as an evidence of guilt, charand to proceed, from the claim of inheritance, to
the power of confiscation. VII. Among the forms
of capine, a philosopher may be permitted to name
the conversion of pagan or heretical riches to the
use of the faithful; but in the time of Justinian
this holy plunder was condemned by the secturies
alone, who became the victims of his orthodox
avarice.

Dishonour might be ultimately reflected on the The rainscharacter of Justinian; but much of the guilt, Justinian and still more of the profit, was intercepted by the ministers, who were soldon promoted for their virtues, and not always selected for their talents.? The merits of Tribonian the questor will hereafter be weighed in the reformation of the Roman law; but the economy of the East was subordinate to the pretorian prefect, and Procopius has justified his amendotes by the portrait which he exposes in his public history, of the notorious vices of John of Cappadocia. John of the notorious vices of John of Cappadocia. John of East was schools, and his style was school legible; but

^{*} Jeim Malale, term 11, p. 101, 102, 103.

Our of these, Austrius, periods to an continuate soluble or judgment! The compliants and claiment of the people in Agathias 60 to p. 186, 187; are almost in echo of the mechani. The sines periods reduced in Comppen G. H. 381, 820 is not very holomorphic to Sattings's massey.

[•] See the biscory and character of folia of Cappadorie in Prospersion (Person, L.i. c. 16, 25); h. ii. c. 25. Vanish h. i. c. 16. Absorbet w. 3, 17, 27). The agreement of the history and assertions is a marrial resemble to the reputation of the present.

^{*} the pay with the in present of the section in the proposers to be seen asset by a factor of the present of th

CHAP, he excelled in the powers of native genius, to suggest the wisest counsels, and to find expedients in the most desperate situations. The corruption of his heart was equal to the vigour of his understanding. Although he was suspected of magic and pagan superstition, he appeared insensible to the fear of God or the reproaches of man; and his aspiring fortune was raised on the death of thousands, the poverty of millions, the ruin of cities, and the desolation of provinces. From the dawn of light to the moment of dinner, he assiduously laboured to enrich his master and himself at the expence of the Roman world; the remainder of the day was spent in sensual and obscene pleasures, and the silent hours of the night were interrupted by the perpetual dread of the justice of an assassin. His abilities, perhaps his vices, recommended him to the lasting friendship of Justinian: the emperor yielded with refuctance to the fury of the people; his victory was displayed by the immediate restoration of their enemy; and they felt above ten years, under his oppressive administration, that he was stimulated by revenge, rather than instructed by misfortune. Their murmurs served only to fortify the resobition of Justinian; but the profect, in the insolence of favour, provoked the resentment of Theodora, disdained a power before which every knee was bent, and attempted to sow the seeds of discord between the emperor and his beloved consort. Even Theodore berself was constrained to dissemble, to wait a favourable moment, and by an artful conspiracy to render John of Cappadecia

the accomplice of his own destruction. At a time when Holisarias, unless he had been a hero, must have been himself a rebel, his wife Antoning, who emoved the secret confidence of the empress, communicated his feigured discontent to Euphemia, the daughter of the prefect; the credulous virgin imparted to her father the dangerous project, and John, who might have known the value of oaths and promises, was tempted to accept a nocturnal, and almost treasonable, interview with the wife of Belisarms. An amhuscade. of guards and ennucles had been posted by the command of Theodora; they rushed with drawn swords to seize or punish the guilty minister: he was saved by the fidelity of his attendants; but instead of appealing to a gracious sovereign, who had privately warned him of his danger, he pusilfanimously fled to the sanctuary of the church. The favourite of Justiman was sacrificed to conjugal tenderness or domestic tranquillity; the conversion of a prefect into a priest extinguished his ambitious hopes, but the friendship of the emperor alleviated his disgrace, and he retained, in the mild exile of Cyzicus, an ample portion of his riches. Such imperfect revenge could not satisfy the unreleating hatred of Theodora; the murder of his old enemy, the bishop of Cyzicus, afforded a decent pretence; and John of Cappadocia, whose actions had deserved a thousand deaths, was at last condemned for a crime of which he was innocent. A great minister, who had been invested with the honours of consul and

CHAP. patrician, was ignominiously scourged like the vilest of malefactors; a tattered clouk was the sole remnant of his fortunes; he was transported in a bark to the place of his banishment at Antinopolls in Upper Egypt, and the prefect of the Rast begged his bread through the cities which had trembled at his name; During an exile of seven years, his life was protracted and threatened by the ingenious crucity of Theodora; and when her death permitted the emperor to recal a servant whom he half abundoned with regret, the ambition of John of Cappadocia was reduced to the humble duties of the sacerdotal profession. His successors convinced the subjects of Justinian, that the arts of oppression might still be improved by experience and industry; the frauds of a Syrian banker were introduced into the administration of the finances; and the example of the prefect was diligently copied by the questor, the public and private treasurer, the governors of provinces, and the principal magistrates of the eastern empire.3

Win additnew and unchilents.

V. The edifices of Justinian were cemented with the blood and treasure of his people; but those stately structures appeared to announce the prosperity of the empire, and actually displayed the skill of their architects. Both the theory and

The chronilege of Proceptes is been sail observe; but with the and of Payl, I em dissect that John tos appointed protocion profect of the East In the year 550; that he was summed in Juneary 540 restored before June \$25-hardened in \$41-and similar between Jume 248 and April 1, 440. Alemno, Qui90, 91) gives me first of his ten meren and rapid or in a part of a single rains.

practice of the arts which depend on mathematic- Char. al science and mechanical power, were cultivated under the patronage of the emperors; the fame of Archimedes was rivalled by Proclus and Anthemius; and if their miracles and been related by intelligent spectators, they might now enfarge the speculations, instead of exciting the distrusts of philosophers. A tradition has prevailed, that the Roman fleet was reduced to ashes in the port of Syracuse by the burningglasses of Archimedes | and it is asserted that a similar expedient was employed by Proclus to destroy the Gothic vessels in the harbour of Constructinople, and to protect his benefictor Annstasius against the bold enterprise of Vitalian.4 A machine was fixed on the walls of the city, consisting of an hexagon mirror of polished brass, with many smaller and moveable polygons to receive and reflect the rays of the meridian sun; and a consuming flame was darted, to the distince, perhaps, of two hundred feet." The truth

[&]quot; This confidentian as blanch by Limita, On Hippin, c. 2), and Calter, G. III., do temperamenta, min. I. p. 187, add Banks, as the seconf contary. A thinnens yours afterwards, it is positivale afformed by Zonaras, C. Mr. p. 493), in the faith of Thom Course, by Towner, (Chillian II; 119, 2005). Emetablish, tan 100d H. p. 1000y, and the prinliest of Linian. See Valctions. (Billion Green Lini, v. 22; e.m. ic. p. 331, 332), in when I are more or less sidebald by arroral of these - Hilliam III

[&]quot; Zonarus (Long. p. 15) officers the dist, without quoting any esidems.

[.] Terrors describes the artifice of these journing glause, whith he had read, purhaps with no bearing upon, in a guildenia and format of Anthonius. That trusties, was repulsive strustered, for bein lately published, marginal, and illustrated, by M. Dupays, a rehaler and the Designation, (Membergin l'Amatonie des Formations, 2009) all, p. 303-441).

[&]quot;YOL. VII.

cuter- of these two extraordinary facts is invalidated by the allence of the most authentic historians; and the use of hurning places was never adopted in the attack or defence of places. - Yet the mimirable experiments of a French philosopher # bave demonstrated the possibility of such a mirror; and, since it is possible, I am more disposed to attribute the say to the greatest mathematicians of antiquity, than to give the morit of the fiction to the idle finey of a monk or a sophist. According to another stary. Proclassipplied sulphur to the destruction of the Gothic fleet; in a modeen imagination, the name of sulphur is instantly connected with the suspicion of gun-powder, and that suspicion is propagated by the secret arts of his disciple Anthonius. A citizen of Trailer in Asia had tive sons, who were all distingpished in their respective professions by merit and success. Olympias excelled in the knowledge and practice of the Roman jurisprudence. Dioscovus and Alexander became learned physicomes but the skill of the former was exercised.

Le the slow of Agrana, by the above of Polyton, Phonesis, Long's in the stage of Communitionals, by that of Marcellians, and all the remainspersacion of the work contary,

⁸ William are presime knowledge of Tastics of Authorities, the irrangent Button improved and executed a set of historieg-glooms, with which be ready . James planter he the distance of The first, Hillipsia. more I Clinto Naturally, tons, is p. 290-482, quarts edition. What countries would not his guitte have performed for the public overteen. with royal expense, and in the strong one of Committing it is first HINE F

is scalinged the minus or permits of Procles and Marhani.

[&]quot;Aguiden L'v. p. 188-152. The merit of Anthonies in su secontent is builty present by Principles, (de Feld & L. D. L., and Parber Almeriannen (mer 1, 151, Aug.

for the benefit of his fellow-citizens, while his CHAP. more unditious brother acquired wealth and reputation at Rome. The fume of Metrodorus the grammarian, and of Authemits the mathematician and architect, reached the cars of the corperor Justidian, who invited them to Constantinople; and while the one instructed the rising generation in the schools of eloquence, the other filled the capital and provinces with more facting monuments of his art. In a trifling dispute relative to the walls or windows of their continuous houses, he had been vanquished by the eloquence of his neighbour Zeno; but the orntor was defeated in his turn by the master of mechanics, whose mulicious, though harmless, stratagems, are darkly represented by the ignorance of Agathias. In a lower room, Anthemius arranged several vessels, or emplifions of water, each of them covered by the wide bottom of a lenthern tube, which resu to a narrow top, and was artificially conveyed among the joints and rafters of the adjacent building. A fire was kindled beneath the cauldron; the steam of the boiling water ascended through the tobest the house was slaken by the efforts of imprisoned air, and its trembling inhabitants might wonder that the city was unconscious of the earthquake which they had felt. At another time, the friends of Zeno, as they sat at table, were dazzled by the intolerable light which flushed in their even from the reflecting mirrors of Anthemias; they were astonished by the noise which he produced from a collision of certain minute and sonorous particles; and the orator deCHAP.

clared, in tragic style, to the senate, that a mere mortal must yield to the power of an antagonist, who shook the earth with the trident of Neptune, and imitated the thunder and lightning of Jove himself. The genius of Anthemius and his colleague bodore the Milesian, was excited and emplayed by a prince, whose taste for architecture had degenerated into a mischievous and costly passion. His favourite architects submitted their designs and difficulties to Justinian, and discreetly confessed how much their laborious meditations were surpassed by the intuitive knowledge or celestial inspiration of an emperor, whose views were always directed to the benefit of his people, the glory of his reign, and the salvation of his soul.

Farmintion of the cturch of St. Sophia. The principal claurch, which was dedicated by the founder of Constantinople to St. Sophia, or the eternal wisdom, and been twice destroyed by fire; after the exile of John Chrysostom, and during the Nika of the blue and green factions. Nosconer did the turnult subside, than the Christian populace deployed their sacrilegious makness; but they might have rejoiced in the calamity, had they foreseen the glary of the new temple, which at the end of forty days was stremmously undertaken by the party of Jostinian. The rules were

Account the event of ancients and on home who have confirmed the extres of 5t. Sophis, I shall distinguish and rollow, it. Four critical

^{*} See Proposition to Editation L. L. C. J. E. J. E. G. C. O. He related a coint former of drawns which suppose some front to Justinian as his erribion. They both saw, in a vision, the arms plan by the plug he instantian at Daris. A sound-quarry many Justinian was related to the emporter, (I. v. C. K) and sugal was trained into the perpendicular and perpendicular action of the period seasons of all 20 phile, (A converted Antique C. P. J. H. p. 70).

cleared away, a more spacious plan was described, CHAP. and as it required the consent of some proprietors XL. of ground, they obtained the most exorbitant terms from the eager desires and timorous conscience of the monarch. Anthemias formed the design, and his genius directed the hands of ten thousand workmen, whose payment in pieces of fine silver was never delived beyond the evening. The emperor himself, clad in a linea tunic, surveyed each day their rapid progress, and encouraged their diligence by his familiarity, his zeal, and his rewards. The new cuthedral of St. Sophia was consecrated by the patriarch, five years eleven months and ten days from the first foundation; and in the midst of the soleron festival, Justinian exclaimed with devout vanity, "Glory he to God, " who both thought me worthy to accomplish so great a work; I have vanquished thee, O Solo-" mon!" But the pride of the Roman Solomon,

original specimer and himselment Property, 100 folific Live Dis Apathirs, there p. 169, 150;; Paul Shendingles, in a poem of 10rd becamping, of unless Alans Concern. Alexander, and Kyngrius, etc. ir, o its. 7, Two legendary Oriets of a later provide, Garage Co. direct, the Origin, G. P. p. 64-74), multily appropriate written of Resdust, (June Orient, tunt. In hirr, p. 63-10); A. The prest Byrandine topmore, December (Charmett of Paul Shouther p. 525-308, and C. P. Clerco, L. H. pt. 6-10p. 5, Two French transflato-ethe con, Pers. Oplings, (in Topograph, C. P. J. m. c. 5, 45, on the with a the other, Gral at (Voyage de C. P. p. 93-164 ; Puris, 1980; in Bio) (In his given plants promette, and insula-views of Ste Supling and the pierre, though an a smaller walts appeal to or except than them of Density. I have adopted and refrant the assurers of Gentary but. to be Charitan con new second the dame, the tempts of them of fewer he spring compared with Collins, General, and the Original Congregator. " Schools's brooks was surrounded with courts, particular, &c. ;

but the proper structure of the house of God was no come to see take

CHAP.

before twenty years had clapsed, was humbled by an earthquake, which overthrew the eastern part of the dome. Its splendour was again restored by the perseverance of the same prince; and in the thirty-sixth your of his reign, Justinian celebrated the second dedication of a temple, which remains, after twelve centuries, a stately measument of his fame. The prehitseting of St. Sophur, which is now converted into the principal mesch, has been imitated by the Turkish sultans, and that years. able pile continues to excite the fond admiration of the Greeks, and the more rational cariosity of European travellers. The eye of the spectator is disappointed by an irregular prospect of half domes and shelving roofs: the western front, the principal approach, is destitute of almphitity and magnificence; and the scale of dimensions has been much surpassed by several of the Latin cathedrals. But thearchitect who first erected an aereal cupola, is entitled to the praise of hold design and skilful execution. The dome of St. Sophia, illuminated by four-and-twenty windows, is formed with so small a curve, that the depth is equal only to one-sixth of its diameter; the measure of that diameter is one hundred and fifteen feet, and the lofty centre, where a crescent has supplanted the cross, rises to the perpendicular height of one hundred and eighty feet above the payement. The circle which uncompasses the dome, lightly reposes on four strong

Disserily-

the Egyption in Hebrer either at 22 inches) from A5 fort to height, Bell in beautite, min 110 in height—a small parish church, may Price and Church and set is p. 144; finished the manuscrip would be visited at the manuscrip would be visited at their parishes are like to be a small and the community with

arches, and their weight is firmly supported by EURP. four min-y-piles, whose strength is assisted on the ______ northern and muthern sides by four columns of Egyptian granite. A Greek cross, inscribed in a quadrangle, represents the form of the edifice; the exact breadth is two handred and forty-three feet, and two hundred and sixty-nine may be assigned for the extreme length from the sanctuary in the east to the nine western doors which open into the vertibule, and from thenes into the nurther, or exterior partico. That portico was the bumble station of the penitents. The nave or loofy of the church was filled by the congregation of the faithful; but the two sexes were productly distinguished, and the upper and lower galleries were allotted for the more private devotion of the wamen. Beyond the northern and southern piles, a bainstrale, terminated on either side by the thrones of the emperor and the patriarch, divided the nave from the choir ; and the space, as far as the steps of the altar, was occupied by the clergy and singers. The altar itself, a name which insensibly became familiar to Christian cars, weplaced in the eastern recess, artificially built in the form of a demi-cylinder; and this sauctuary communicated by several doors with the sacristy. the vestry, the baptistery, and the contiguous buildings, subscribent either to the pomp of worship, or the private use of the ecclesionical ministers. The memory of past calamities inspired Justinian with a wise resolution, that no wood, except for the doors, should be admitted into the new edifice; and the choice of the ma-

CHAP. terials was applied to the strength, the lightness. or the splendour of the respective parts. The solid piles which sustained the cupola were composed of huge blocks of freestone, hewn into squares and triangles, fortified by circles of iron, and firmly cemented by the infusion of lead and quick lime: but the weight of the empole was diminished by the levity of its substance, which consists either of punice-stone that floats in the water, or of bricks from the ide of Rhodes. five times less panderous than the ordinary sort. The whole frame of the ediffer was constructed of brick; but those base materials were concealed by a crust of marble; and the inside. of St. Sophie, the cupols, the two larger, and the six smaller, semi-domes, the walls, the landdeed columns, and the pavement, delight even the eyes of harbarians, with a rich and variegated picture. A poet," who beheld the primitive histre of St. Sophia, enumerates the colours, the shades, and the spots of tenor twelve marbles, inspers, and peophyries, which mature had profusely diversified, and which were blended and contrasted as it wereby a skilful painter. The tri-

Markins

[&]quot; Part Silentarius, in dark and poeter larguage, desetthe, the variest stome and excides that were employed to the echiec of St. Sec. phin, (P. st. p. 129, 133, &c. &c.); I. The Corpolish -puls, with nonvenue 2. The Pleyman-wises more, both of a may have the one with a white thate, the other purple, with allest horsen. A The Purpley of Egopt-with small state. A The error minde of Lemma L. This Corner-from Mount Living with onlique series, white sort and the The Lotter-pale, with a rail flower, I, The African or May Service - of a good or enform hore. S. The Collis-Mine, while white value. 0. The Bapterio-echae, with blick of par Bender the Presentation, which formed the pavement; the Thoughes, Moheren, &c. which ser less distinctly pointed.

umph of Christ was adorned with the last spoils CHAP. of paganism, but the greater part of these costly stones was extracted from the quarries of Asia Minor, the isles and continent of Greece, Egypt, Africa, and Ganl. Eight columns of perphyry, which Aurelian had placed in the temple of the sun, were offered by the piety of a Roman mutrong eight others of green marble were presented by the ambitious zeal of the magistrates of Ephesus; both are admirable by their size and beauty. but every order of architecture discinims their funtastic capitals. A variety of ornaments and figures was curiously expressed in mosaic; and the images of Christ, of the Virgin, of saints, and of angels, which have been defaced by Turkish fanaticism, were dangerously exposed to the superstition of the Greeks: According to the sanctity of each object, the precious metals were distributed in thin leaves or in solid masses. The balustrade of the choir, the capitals of the pillurs, the oronments of the doors and galleries, were of gilt bronze; the spectator was duzzled by the glittering aspect of the capola; the sanctuary contained forty thousand pound weight of silver; and the holy vases and vestments of the altar were of the purest gold, enriched with inestimable gems. Before the structure of the church had risen two cubits above the ground, fortyfive thousand two hundred pounds were already consumed; and the whole expence amounted manto three hundred and twenty thousand: each reader, according to the measure of his belief, may estimate their value either in gold or silver;

CHAP.

but the sum of one million sterling is the result of the lowest computation. A magnificent temple is a landable monument of national tracts and religion, and the outhasiast who entered the dame of St. Sophia, might be tempted to suppose that it was the residence, or even the workmanship, of the Deity. Yet how dull is the artifice, how insignificant is the labour, if it be compared with the formation of the vilest in sect that crawls upon the surface of the temple by

Chireles and polares.

So minute a description of an edifice which time has respected, may after the truth, and excuse the relation of the innumerable works. both in the capital and provinces, which Justinian constructed on a smaller scale and less durable foundations. In Constitutionple alone, and the adjacent saburbs, he dedicated twenty-five churches to the honour of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints : most of these churches were decornted with murble and gold; and their various situation was skillfully chosen in a populous square, or a pleasant grove; on the margin of the sea-shore, or on some lofty eminance which overlooked the continents of Europe and Asia, The church of the Hely Apostles at Constantinople, and that of St. John at Ephosus, appear to have been framed on the same model: their domes aspired to imitate the capolas of St. Sophia; but the altae was more judicious ly placed under the

[&]quot;The als book of the Edition of Proceedings or that State Burded.—The Seat to confined to Communicate, the sevent probable Management and Seates to the d. Armenia and the Burdes; the freeds, Europe a the fifth, Asia Minor and Patentine; the state, Egype and Africa. They as forgot by the supercy or the none on, who published this was a decision before the district A. D. Minor of its limit compact.

centre of the dome, at the junction of four state- curse. ly porticoes, which more accurately expressed the figure of the Greek cross. The Virgin of Jerusalem might exult in the temple erected by her imperial votary on a most ungrateful spot, which afforded neither ground nor materials to the architect. A level was formed, by raising part of a deep valley to the height of the mountain. The stones of a neighbouring quarry were hewn into regular forms; each block was fixed on a peculiar carriage, drawn by forty of the strongest oxen, and the roads were widened for the passage of such enormous weights. Lebanon furnished her loftlest enters for the timbers of the church; and the seasonable discovery of a vein of red murble, supplied its beautiful columns, two of which, the supporters of the exterior portico, were esteemed the largest in the world. The pious munificence of the empuror was diffused over the Holy Land; and if reason should condein the monusteries of both sexes which were built or restored by Justinian, yet charity must appland the wells which he sunk, and the hespitals which he founded, for the relief of the weary pilgrims. The schismutical temper of Egypt was ill entitled to the royal bounty; last in Syrin and Africa some remedies were applied to the dispeters of wars and earthquakes, and both Carthage and Antioch, emerging from their rains, might revere the same of their gracious benefactor? Almost every saint in the calendar acquired the honours of a temple; almost

s_furthers may pare forty-fire continuous of gold class,000h; no the represent househ after the surthernake, Colin Melale, born, it, p. 146-160%

CHAE.

every city of the empire obtained the solid advantages of bridges, hospitals, and aqueducts; but the severe liberality of the monarch disdained to indulge his subjects in the popular luxury of baths and theatres. While Justinian laboured for the public service, he was not unmindful of his own dignity and ease. The Byzantine palace, which had been damaged by the conflagration, was restored with new magnificence; and some notion may be conceived of the whole collice, by the vertibule or hull, which, from the doors perlings, or the roof, was surnamed chalce, or the braszen. The dome of a spacious quadrangle was supported by massy pillars; the pavement and walls were incrusted with many-coloured marblesthe emerald green of Laconia, the fory red, and the white Phrygian stone intersected with veins of a sest-green hue; the mosaic paintings of the dome and sides represented the giories of the African and Italian triumphs. On the Asiatic shore of the Propontis, at a small distance to the east of Chalcedon, the costly palace and gardens of Heraums were prepared for the summer residence of Justinian, and more especially of Theodora. The poets of the age have colchested the rave alliance of unture and art, the harmony of the nymphs of the groves, the fountains, and the waves, yet the crowd of attendants who followed the court complained of their inconvenient lodgings," and the nymphs

^{*} For the Hermonn, the polace of Theodora, see Gydline, the Bosphure Tablem, Lint, c. 2117 Alexan. (Nov. at Areschet, p. 80), 91, who quantum universi epigrams of the Antinology), and Damage, (C. F. Christ, Liv, 6, 13, p. 175, 176).

Company in the Editors, it.), c. 11; and in the American, is 0, 15), the different riples of adulation and some elected strips of the people or cleaned franchise diet, the effect appears to be the same.

were too often alarmed by the famous Porphyrio, CHAa whale of ten cubits in breadth, and thirty in _____ length, who was stranded at the mouth of the river Sangaris, after he had infested more than half a century the seas of Constantinople."

The fortifications of Europe and Asia were mul- Fauttiplied by Justinian; but the repetition of those garage timid and fruitless precautious exposes to a philesophic eye the debility of the empire.' From Belgrade to the Euxine, from the conflux of the Save to the mouth of the Danube, a chain of aboye four-score fortified places was extended alone the homes of the great river. Single watch-towers were changed into spacious citadels, vacant walls, which the engineers contracted or enlarged according to the nature of the ground, were filled with colonies or garrisons; a strong fortress defended the ruins of Trajan's bridge, and several military stations affected to spread beyond the Da-

¹ Promposed to the first periody a stranger and wandown of the Maditerrational data are firmed whites. Habette quarter in mixtur starie points star, 47th, Hut. Beauty 12, To. Between the polet coals and the truple, the correspond militate of the pount gives to the length of 50, 80, or 100 feet, thirts on Ynyapu, turn is a p-

^{202.} Tomam's Scient Zoology, vol. in, p. 359. * Mountaigules observe them, III. p. 200, Connderstant par la Granitour of in Decadrops des Romness, s. was that Justinian's conpure sea blog from to the than of the Norman invoids-print to want as when every villege one firtuled.

^{*} Proceeding affirms, it by, c. 6), that the Damile was storyed by the police of the trings. Had Apoledorum, the authition, lim a sigortiplion of his own wors, the fature wonders of These Courses 11 large p. 1179; would have been converted by the grantic parties Toulan's bridge consisted of month of feedby-two stems piles with wooding archive; the reset is theretize, the content graths, and the whole interval no many clien \$23 (Reither ad Disor, from Managh) or \$12 feiser, (d'Austlie Gengraphie Austrany, turn 1, p. 503)

CHAR

mids the pride of the Roman name. But that name was divested of its terrors; the burbarians. in their annual inroads, passed, and contemptuoudy repassed, before these useless bulwarks; and the inhabitants of the frontier, instead of reposing under the slundow of the general defence, were compelled to guard, with incessant vigilnnce, their separate habitations. The solitude of ancient cities was replenished; the new foundations of Justinian acquired, perhaps too lustily. the epithets of impregnable and populous; and the auspicious place of his own nativity attracted the grateful reverence of the vainest of princes. Under the name of Justiniana prima, the obscure village of Tauresium became the seat of an archhishop and a prefect, whose invisitetion extended over neven warlike provinces of Illyricum," and the corrupt appellation of Givetnulli still indicates, about twenty miles to the south of Sophia, the residence of a Turkish sanjak.' For the use of the emperor's countrymen, a cathedral, a pulace, and an aqueduct, were speedily constructed; the public and private edifices were adapted to the greatness of a royal city; and the strength of the walls resisted, during the lifetime of Justinian, the unskilful assaults of the

Of the two Tuelon, Medicarous and Hossain, Dandards, Procallings, the second Mariti, and the second Manchasin. No Justiman, (Novall sig, who speaks of the matter beyond the Dandar, and all humans supposed beliefs industries.)

See a Arcelle, (Mennites de l'Aradonie, des non-Year, p. 249; 2203), Byennt, (Pleasant hinte of the Turkle Empire, p. 27, 319); Marsigli, (State Millians del Imperio Ottomann, p. 130). The subject of Guerrandi is one of the treasy makes the beginning of Burlla, and his district uniquality 45 miss and 285 figuratio.

Huns and Sclavonians. Their progress was some- CHAP. times estarded, and their hopes of rapine were disappointed, by the innumerable castles, which, in the provinces of Ducia, Epirus, Thessalv, Macedonia, and Thence, appeared to cover the whole face of the country. Six hundred of these forts were built or repaired by the emperor; but it seems reasonable to believe, that the far greater part consisted only of a stone or brick tower, in the midst of a square or circular area, which was surrounded by a wall and ditch, and utforded in a moment of danger some protection to the peasants and eattle of the neighbouring villages." Yes these military works, which exhausted the public treasure, could not remove the just apprehensions of Justinian and his European subjects. The warm baths of Anchiabus in Thrace were cendered as safe as they were salutary; but the rich pastures of Thessalonica were foraged by the Scythian cavarly; the delicious vale of Tempe, three hundred miles from the Dimube, was continually alarmed by the spund of war;" and no unfortified spot, however distant or solitary, could securely enjoy the blassings of pence. The streights of Thermopyler, which seemed to protect, but which had so often herrayed. the safety of Greece, were diligently strength-

⁶ These Springerims may be impressed to the cambes in Mingration (Chardin, Veyages on Perso, time is p. 60, 1515-4 natural picture

^{*} The caller of Temps to singular along the river Person, between the bills of One and Olympian in it may average day, and in some posses on some than 120 part in beautiful for wardens bountles are aligning described by Pility, (High Notice I, by L5), and note the fusely by Allian, (Hits. Var. Lim, e. m.

CHAP, encel by the labours of Justinian. From the edge. of the sea-shore, through the forest and valleys, and as far as the summit of the Thessalian mountains, a strong wall was continued, which occupied every practicable entrance. Instead of an hasty crowd of peasants, a garrison of two thousand soldiers was stationed along the rampart; gramaries of corn, and reservoirs of water, were provided for their use; and by a precaution that inspired the cowardice which it foresaw, convenient fortresses were erected for their retreat. The walls of Corinth, overthrown by an earthquake, and the mouldering bulwarks of Athens and Plataea, were carefully restored; the barbarians were discouraged by the prospect of successive and painful sieges; and the naked cities of Peloponnesus were covered by the fortifications of the istlams of Corinth. At the extransity of Europe, another peninsula, the Thracian Chersonesus, runs three days journey into the sea, to form, with the adjacent shores of Asia, the straits of the Hellespont. The intervais between eleven populous towns were filled by lafty woods, fair pastures, and arable lands; and theisthmus, orthirty-seven studia or furlongs, had been fortified by a Spartan general nine hundred years before the reign of Justinian." In an age of freedom and valour, the slightest campart may prevent a surprise; and Procopius appears insensible of the superiority of ancient times, while he

^{*} Xonophen Bellenic, L. III, & 2. After a long and tellimit conswemmer with the Synaptice declaraers, how mirething is the trult, the simplicity, the "strainer, of an Artic or har?"

braises the solid construction and double parapet CHAP. if a wall, whose long arms stretched on either side into the sea; but whose strength was deemed insufficient to guard the Chersonesus, if each city, and particularly Galipoli and Sexus, had not been secured by their peculiar fortifications. The long wall, as it was emphatically styled, was a work as disgraceful in the object, as it was respectable in the execution. The riches of a capital diffuse themselves over the neighbouring country. and the territory of Constantinople, a paradise of nature, was adorned with the luxurious gardens and villus of the senators and opulent citizens. But their wealth served only to attract the bold and rapacions barbarians; the publish of the Romans. in the bosom of peaceful indolence, were led away into Scythian captivity, and their sovereign might view, from his palace, the hostile flames which were insolently spread to the gates of the imperial city. At the distance only of forty mlles, Anastasus was constrained to establish a last frontier. his long wall, of sixty miles from the Proportis to the Euxine, proclaimed the impotence of his arms; and as the danger became more imminent, new fortifications were added by the indefatigable prudence of Justinian.

Asia Minor, after the submission of the Isau-Seemty of rians," remained without enemies and without the con-

[&]quot; See the long wall to Evergine, (L. Is, c. S8). This whole artists is leaving drawn from the fourth book of the Edifiers, except Auchialus, U. ii.,

⁴ Term hand to vol. is p. 441. In the course of this identry, I have sometimes mentioned, and much afterer eligibited, the barry increde of the Laurant, which were not attended with thy consequences,

CHAP.

fortifications. Those hold savages, who had disdained to be the subjects of Galienge, persisted two hundred and thirty years in a life of independence and rapine. The most successful princes respected the strength of the mountains and the despair of the natives; their fierce spirit was sometimes soothed with gifts, and sometimes restrained by terror; and a military count, with three legions. fixed his permanent and ignominions station in the heart of the Roman provinces." But no sooner was the vigilance of power relaxed or diverted, thun the light-armed squadrons descended from the liftle, and invaded the peaceful plenty of Asia. Although the Ispurians were not remarkable for stature or bravery, want rendered them bold, and experience made them skilful in the exercise of predatorywar. They advanced with secrecy and speed to the attack of villages and defenceless towns; their flying parties have sometimes touched the Hellespont, the Euxine, and the gates of Tarsus, Antioch, or Damascus; and the spoil was lodged in their inaccessible mountains, before the Roman troops had received their orders, or the distant province had computed its loss. The guilt of rebellion and robbery excluded them from the rights of national enemies; and the magistrates were instructed by an edict, that the trial or punishment of an Isaurian, even on the festival of Easter, was

[&]quot;Treletime Polito in Heat, August: p. 187, who lived under Decheller, or Constanting. See Likewise Particular of New Imp. Octant, c. 115; 181. See Cod. Theodox 1, iz. in. 35; kep. 37, with a coputer collective Augustian of Godeling, time 18, p. 256, 257.

f See the full and wide expent of their nounds to Pollectorgian, Hist. Highes L. et, c. 85, with Godefrey's learned Discertail

a meritorious act of justice and piety." If the CHAP. cantives were condemned to domestic slavery, they maintained, with their sword or dagger, the private quarrel of their masters; and it was found expedient for the public tranquillity, to prohibit the service of such dangerous retainers. When their countryman Tarcalissans or Zeno ascended the throne, he invited a faithful and formidable hand of Isaurians, who insulted the court and city, and were rewarded by an annual tribute of five thousand pounds of gold. But the hopes of fortune depopulated the mountains, luxury emerated the hardiness of their minds and bodies, and in proportion as they mixed with mankind, they became less qualified for the enjoyment of poor and solitary freedom. After the death of Zeno, his successor Anastasius suppressed their pensions, exposed their persons to the revenge of the people, banished them from Constantinople, and prepared to sustain a war, which left only the alternative of victory or servitude. A brother of the last emperor usurped the title of Augustus; his cause was powerfully supported by the arms, the treasures, and the magazines, collected by Zeno; and the native Ismirians must have formed the smallest portion of the hundred and fifty thousand barbarians under his standard, which was nanctified, for the first time, by the presence of a fighting hishop. Their disorderly numbers were vanquished in the plains of Playgin by the va-

^{*} Cod. Justician: I fa; un 19; ing. 10. The permitments are severe—a sure of an hundred promote of goal, degradation, and even double. The public peace might afford a pretriers, but Zeno was desirous of monopoliting the raison and service of the Terminus.

XL.

462-408

lour and discipline of the Goths; but a war of six years almost exhausted the courage of the emperor. The Isaurians retired to their mountains; their fortresses were successively besieged and rained; their communication with the sea was intercepted; the bravest of their leaders died in arms; the surviving chiefs, before their execution, were dragged in chains through the hippodrome; a colony of their youth was transplanted into Thrace, and the remnant of the people submitted to the Roman government. Yet some generations classed before their minds were reduced to the level of slavery. The populous villages of mount Taurus were filled with horsemen and archers; they resisted the imposition of tributes, but they recruited the armies of Justinian and his civil magistrates, the proconsul of Cappadocin, the count of Isauria, and the pretors of Lycnonia and Pisidia, were invested with military power to restrain the licentious practice of rapes and assassinations.

Postifications of the empire. If we extend our view from the tropic to the mouth of the Tanais, we may observe on one hand,

^{*} The Imprime was and the squetiple of Americans are briefly and darkly represented by Jahn Matria, (tom H.p. 106, 107): Briggion, H. H., et 35): Theophanes, (p. 118-130), and the Chemicle of Marerdinous.

^{*}Fortes at regio (anys Justianan) viros baket, mer in tillo differt als francia, though Proceptus (Persic, L.i., c. 18) marks an associal difference between their military character; yet in former frome the Lycamians and Pandium had defended their liberry against the great king. (Xerophen, Arabans, L.ili, c. 7). Justianian introduces some false and ridiculous studition of the anticat empire of the Pandium, and of Lycam, also, after visiting flume, though before fluency, gave a master and people to Lycamia, (Novell, 14, 23, 27, 30).

The precautions of Justinian to curb the savages CHAP. of Ethiopia, and on the other, the long walls which he constructed in Criman for the protec- from the tion of his friendly Goths, a colony of three the Person thousand shepherds and warriors. From that poster peninsula to Trebizond, the castern curve of the Enxine was secured by forts, by alliance, or by religion: and the possession of Laxion, the Colchos of ancient, the Mingrelia of modern, geography, soon became the object of an important Trebizond, in after-times the seat of a romantic empire, was indebted to the liberality of Justinian for a church, an aqueduct, and a castle, whose ditches are hown in the solid rock. From that maritime city, a frontier-line of five hundred miles may be drawn to the fortress of Circesium, the last Roman station on the Euplirates." Above Trebizond immediately, and five days journey to the south, the country rises into dark forests and craggy mountains, as savage, though not so lofty, as the Alps and the Pyrenees.

3 See Proceeding, Preside L. b. c. 19. The wher of north and commendof manual exception and matter, which Dissisting had covered in the seleof Elephanettes, was defined the day Justinian with here policy than grad-

^{**} Preception de Editions, L. st., c. 7. Ther. ** con. c. d., b. These conministers Grain had protect to Liber the charderd of Theodoric. As had as the articular graft contary, the times and matter magest be discovered between Units and the strain of Azeph, of Arville Mepurers the Paradicular, nonextra p 2101. They will described in surfacely of Ruchequine, up 161.—1821. In these to have ambiend in the more recent toward of the Ministers du Lerent, them. 94 Total Princetol, &c.

^{*} For the are graphy was such terms of this Assurable bender, see that Persons Wars and Ediffers thelly a 4-74 k (m; at 2-7) of Proceptions.

CHAP.

In this rigorous climate," where the snows seldons melt, the fruits are tardy and tasteless; even honey is poisonous; the most industrious tillage would be confined to some pleasant valleys; and the pastoral tribes obtained a scanty sustenance from the flesh and milk of their cattle. The Chalybians derived their name and temper from the iron quality of the soil; and, since the days of Cyrus, they might produce, under the various appellations of Chaldmans and Zamians, an uninterrupted prescription of war and rapine. Under the reign of Justinian, they acknowledged the God and the emperor of the Romans, and seven fortresses were built in the most accessible passes, to exclude the ambition of the Persian monarch. The principal source of the Euphrates descends from the Chalybian

The country or described by Taxanether, Weyers as Levant, termin, letter and, avail, avail, Taxanethill beautiful considerable between the plant that plant that the collectr of Lucultus might indeed be remarked or the colf, there, avail to the plant of Experience, more compilers fells in June, and the lucultus meghatical seriors Symmetre. The talks of Armena are believe the fortiells digree of latitudes, but in the mountainer country which a inhalm, it is want known that an accent of some hours curried the traveller from the element of Languages in that of Norway, and a greated through him beautiful objects, that under the line, so chronion of 2,400 sales is regularized to the cold of the polar cardle, Glemand, Observations and the Tayaneth in the cold of the polar cardle, Glemand, Observations and the Tayaneth Coxe dime is Survey, much, it is 104).

^{*} The identity or proximity of the Chafylainas, or Chablanas, may be investigated in Strate, (b. xii, p. 825, 820;) Callician, Grogouph Antiq, tenn. (i, p. 207-204), and Freet, (Mam. de l'Academie, torties, p. 204). Xemplere supposes, in his common, (Cyre, ed. L. iti, the same backarians against whom he had freight in his retreat, (Ambanas, L. 85).

Pronopine, Persic. L. I. c. II. De Edillo, L. i.i. v. d.

mountains, and wens to flow towards the west char. and the Enkine; bending to the south-west, the river passes under the walls of Satala and Melitene, (which were restored by Justinian as the bulwarks of the Lesser Armenia), and gradually approaches the Mediterranean sea; till at length. repelled by mount Taurus, the Euphrates inclines his long and flexible course to the southeast and the gulph of Persia. Among the Roman cities beyond the Euphrates, we distinguish two recent foundations, which were named from Pheodosius, and the relies of the martyrs; and two capitals, Amida and Edessa, which are celebrated in the history of every age. Their strength was proportioned, by Justinian, to the danger of their situation. A ditch and pulisade might be sufficient to resist the artless force of the cavalry of Scythia; but more elaborate works were required to sustain a regular slege against the arms and trensures of the great king. His skillful augmeers understood the methods of conducting desputines, and of raising platforms to the level of the rampart: he shook the strongest hattlements with his military engines, and sometimes advanced to the assault with a line of moveable turrets on the backs of elephants. In the great cities of the East, the disadvantage of space, perhaps of position, was compensated by the zeal of the people, who seconded the garrison in the defence of their country and religion; and the fabulous promise

S NOT our or obuget by marter marter ventures, 17 cm perior Make, 21, the Physics part as well as a mituralist, (v. 20), personials the close and mountain, and describes their combat. See the course of the Darle and Emphrates, in the excellent treatme of d'Anvelle.

CHAP.

of the San of God, that Edessa should never be taken, filled the citizens with violent confidence, and chilled the besiegers with doubt and dismay." The subordinate towns of Armenia and Mesopotamia were diligently strengthened, and the posts which appeared to have any command of ground or water, were occupied by numerous forts, substantially built of stone, or more hastily erected with the obvious materials of earth and brick. The eye of Justinian investigated every spot; and his cruel precautions might attract the war into some lonely vale, whose peaceful natives, connected by trade and marriage, were ignorant of national discord and the quarrels of princes. Westward of the Euphrates, a sandy desert extends above six hundred miles to the Red Sea. Nature had interposed a vacant solitude between the ambition of two rival empires : the Arabians, till Mahamet grose, were formidable only as robbers : and, in the proud security of peace, the fortifications of Syria were neglected on the most vulnerable side

Beath of Perotes, long of Perois, A. D. 488. But the national enmity, at least the effects of that enmity, had been suspended by a truce, which continued above four-score years. An ambassador from the emperor Zeno accompanied the rush and unfortunate Perozes, in his expedition against the Nepthalites or White Huns, whose

^{*} Proceptor (Persic L. II, c. 18) tells the story with the come half amplical, bull expectations, of Herndatan. The promise was not in the primitive lie of Emerica, but dates at limit from the year 4001 and a third Ee, the Fermina, was soon raised in the two formers, (Evagrina, I. Iv, c. 17). At Edema Lee been taken, Tillement would durlain the promise, (Mem. Ecclus. torn. I, p. 352, 383, 617).

conquest had been stretched from the Caspian to CHAP. the heart of India, whose throne was enriched with emeralds, and whose cavalry was supported by a line of two thousand elements. The Persinus were twice circumvented, in a situation which made valour useless and flight impossible; and the double victory of the Huns was indieved by military strategem. They dismissed their royal captive after he had submitted to adore the majesty of a barbarian; and the lumiliation was poorly evaded by the casuistical subtility of the Magi, who instructed Perozes to direct his intention to the rising sun. The indignant successor of Cyrus forgot his danger and his gratitude; he renewed the attack with headstrong fury, and lost both his army and his life. The death of

^{*} They were purchased from the merchants of Adulta who traded to India, Commis, Proprietable Cartie I, st. is 1200 ; 300, in the setimate of persons once, the bestime employees in ant, the Berning be second, the Billington only the third, (Bill's Theoghranian p. 61). &c 50). The production, money, West of amorable, and involved in sixtings to meet it to resident whether we present any of the swifes sorts known to the sections, (Cognet, Origins des Lies, &c. part tt. h it, e. Z. art. by In the was the Blue get, or at lund Personal hot, the firms pount is the world, of willow the others a foliabless Dahles.

⁴ The Indo-forther rectioned to require the time of Augusta. (Dillings), Perfeggs, 1988, with the Communitary of Hugoridius, in Hollsen, Geograph: Miner, turn ter surfect or the other frame, (County, Topograph, Christ, L. M., p. 1150. Elite. On their origin and conquests, see al'Anothic, tour l'Indr. p. 18, 15, Ro. 50, Sa. 50). the second exercity they were traders if Labor to Governia.

[&]quot; See the firte of Phirson or Parents, and its amongunious, in Procomme (Person Is to c. Solly, who may be compared with the fragsamula of stiretal history, (d'Historia, Miking Grinn, p. 134), and Textire, History of Petits, translated or stronged by Surveys, L. i. c. 52, p. 151-158y. The chronology is they sentialized by America, (Bibliot, Ocient, tom. iii, p. 396-1271.

572 122 maria

BHE WHITE. A. D. SEE-104

CHAR. Perozes abandoned Persia to her foreign and domestic enemies; and twelve years of confusion clapsed before his son Cabades or Kohad could The Post- embrace any designs of ambition or revenge. The unkind parsimony of Anastasius was the motive or pretonce of a Roman war;" the Huns and Arabs muched under the Persian standard, and the fortifications of Armenia and Mesopotamia were, at that time, in a ruinous or imperfect conditions. The emperor returned his thanks to the governor and people of Martyropolis, for the prompt surrender of a city which could not be successfully defended, and the conflagration of Theodosiopolis might justify the conduct of their prodent neighbours. Amida austained a long and destructive siege; at the end of three months the loss of fifty thousand of the soldiers of Cabades was not balanced by any prospect of unccess, and it was in vain that the Magi deduced a flattering prediction from the indecency of the women op the ramparts, who had revealed their. most secret charms to the eyes of the assailants. At length, in a silent night, they ascended the most accessible tower, which was guarded only by some monks, oppressed, after the duties of a festival, with sleep and wine. Scaling ladders were applied at the dawn of day; the presence of Cubades, his stern command, and his drawn sword, compelled the Persians to vanquish; and

[&]quot; The Person war, under the reigns of Americans and Juries, may be officered from Protogram, (Persic. I. i. c. 7, 8, 91 Thouptons, to Chromographic p. 196-197); Evagrine, il. ill, c. ill); Materillians, the Chron. p. 47), and Jame Styllien, usped Asternation byte. I. p. 479-2815.

before it was sheathed, four-core thousand of the cuar. inhabitants had expiated the blood of their companions. After the siege of Amida, the war continued three years, and the unhappy frontier troted the full measure of its calamities. The gold of Apastasius was offered too fate, the numher of his troops was defeated by the number of their generals; the country was stripped of its inhabitants, and both the living and the dead were abandoned to the wild beasts of the desert. The resistance of Edessa, and the deficiency of speil; inclined the mind of Cabades to peace; he sold his conque to for an exorbitant price; and the same line, though marked with slaughter and devastation, stiff separated the two empires: To avert the repetition of the same evils, Amstasius resolved to found a new colony, so strong, that it should dely the power of the Persian, so far advanced towards Assyria, that its stationary froops might defend the province by the menace or operation of offensive war. For this purpose, the Familiatown of Dara, fourteen miles from Nisibis, and the four days journey from the Tigris, was peopled and adorned; the hasty works of Anastasias were improved by the perseverance of Justinian; and without insisting on places less important, the fortifications of Dara may represent the military architecture of the age. The city was surrounded with two walls, and the interval between them of

* The description of Data is amply and correctly given by Precoplus, (Person I t) in to: L il. c. 13; Dr Hillie I il. c. 1, L J: L il., colly. See the situation in A'Anville, sl'Espherie et le Tiger, p. 35, 43. Ada, though he grown to deable the Internal between Dark and No. illust.

CHAP, fifty paces, afforded a retreat to the cattle of the besieged. The inner wall was a monument of strength and beauty; it measured sixty feet from the ground, and the height of the towers was one hundred feet; the loop-holes, from whence an enemy might be annoved with missile weapons, were small, but numerous; the soldiers were planted along the rampart, under the shelter of double galleries, and a third platform, spacious and secure, was raised on the summit of the towers. The exterior wall appears to have been less lofty, but more solid; and each tower was protected by a quadrangular bulwark. A bard rocky soil resisted the tools of the nimers, and on the south-cast, where the ground was more tractable, their approach was retarded by a new work. which advanced in the shape of an bulf-moon; The double and treble ditches were filled with a stream of water; and in the management of the river, the most skilful labour was employed to supply the inhabitants, to distress the besiegers, and to prevent the machines of a natural or artificial boundation. Dara continued more than sixty years to fulfil the wishes of its founders, and to provoke the jealousy of the Persians, who meessantly complained, that this impregnable fortress had been constructed in manifest violation of the treaty of peace between the two empires.

The Carplan de Derivat matter.

Between the Euxine and the Caspian; the countries of Cholchos, Theria, and Albania, are intersected in every direction by the branches of mount Caucasus; and the two principal gutes, or passes, from north to south, have been frequently

confounded in the geography both of the ancients CHAR. and moderns. The name of Cuspian or Albanian gates, is properly applied to Derbend," which occupies a short declivity between the mountains and the sea; the city, if we give credit to local tradition, had been founded by the Greeks; and this dangerous entrance was fortified by the kings of Persia with a mole, double walls, and doors of iron. The Iberian gates are formed by a narrow passage of six miles in mount Caucasus, which opens from the northern side of Iberia or Georgia, into the plain that reaches to the Tannis and the Volgn. A fortress, designed by Alexander perhaps, or one of his successors, to command that important pass, had descended by right of conquest or inheritance to a prince of the Huns, who offered it for a moderate price to the emperor: but while Anastasius paused, while he timorously computed the cost and the distance, a more vigilant rival interposed, and Cahades forcibly occupied the straits of Caucasus. Albanian and Iberian gates excluded the horsemen of Scythia from the shortest and most practicable roads, and the whole front of the mountains was covered by the rampart of Gog and Magog, the

For the city and pass of Derhend, see d'Herbelot, (Bibliot, Orient, p. 157, 281, 807) ; Fetite de la Centa, (Hist. de Gengiscan, L. iv, c. 9) ; Misteire Genenligique des Tatare, tom. i. p. 180) ; Gicarius, (Voyage on Perse, p. 1020-1041), and Consille le Bruyo, (Voyages, tort to p. 140, 147) c his view may be compared with the plan of Olearius, who rudges the wall to be of shells and gravel hardened by time.

^{*} Procepins, though with some confusion, always demonstrates them. Caspian, (Persic L. i. c. 10). The pass is now styled Tetartops, the Tarrat-gates, (d'Anvelle, Geographie Antienne, turn ii, p. 119, 190).

CHAP, long wall which has excited the curiosity of an Arabian caliph and a Russian conqueror. According to a recent description, huge stones, seven feet thick, twenty-one feet in length, or beight, are artificially joined without iron or cement, to compose a wall, which runs above three hundred miles from the shores of Derbend, over the hills and through the valleys of Daghestan and Georgia. Without a vision, such a work might be undertaken by the policy of Cabades; without a miracle, it might be accomplished by his son, so formidable to the Romans under the name of Chosroes; so dear to the Orientals, under the appellation of Nushirwan. The Persian monarch held in his hand the keys both of peace and war; but he stipulated is every treaty. that Justinian should contribute to the expence of a common barrier, which equally protected the two empires from the inroads of the Scythians.6

> VII. Justinian suppressed the schools of Athens and the consulship of Rome, which had given so many sages and heroes to mankind. Both these

^{*} The imaginary compact of Gog and Magog, which was estimatly explored and billered by a ruligh of the firth century, appears to be derived from the gates of Mount Cauranns, and a vague report of the wall of China, (Geograph, Nobbestie, p. 281-270. Menuites de Paradropie, tom. seed, p. 210-110.)

^{*} See a lummed dissertation of Hours, for more Community Community And Petropal aug. 1776, time I, p. 415-469 a bur it to destitute of a map or plus. When the Coar Fater I became meeter of thermost to the year 1737, the measure of the wall was found to be \$285 Houwas segues, or furnious, such of aroun feet limitleds; to the whole with white more than four major in longth.

See the fortifications and structed of Changes by Smilliman, 18 Proceeding, (Certife, 1. I. v. 16, 22 ; to my and d'Herbeiot, (p. 687).

institutions had long since degenerated from cuar, their primitive glory; yet some reproach may be histly inflicted on the avaries and jealousy of a prince, by whose hands such venerable ruins were destroyed.

Athens, afterher Persian triumphs, adopted the Tophilesophy of Ionia and the thetoric of Sicily; Albert and these studies became the patrimony of a city whose inhabitants, about thirty thousand males, condensed, within the period of a single life, the genius of ages and millions. Our street of the dignity of human nature is exalted by the simple recollection, that Isocrates' was the companion of Plate and Xenophon; that he assisted, perhaps with the historian Thueydides, at the first representations of the Occipus of Sophocles and the Iphigenia of Euripides; and that his pupils Aschines and Demosthenes contended for the crown of patriotism in the presence of Aristotle; the master of Theophrastus, who taught at Athens with the founders of the Stoic and Enleurens sects. The ingenious youth of Attien enjoyed the benefits of their domestic education, which was communicated without envy to the rival cities Two thousand disciples heard the lessans of Theo-

The file of discretes extends from Onesp Laxable to explinents Christ. 486 S58p. See Onespo Balterra, non-Ripp 140, 150, edit. Hadden; Phitamb (Green proposed to Vol. X. Onespo, p. 1538-1543, edit. H. Steph;; Phitamb end; edit. p. 1453.

The school of Athene are enjouring, through a school, represented in the Formula Atties of Macridia, in viti, p. 33-10, in time 1, 0, 0. For the state and arts of the stay, on the first book of Commun. (a) much time of Discouring, the the arrand value of Macridia School of School of the graphets), who wrate about Olympi critic Dobs (C) Discouring over 4.

CHAP, phrastus; the schools of rhetoric must have been still more populous than those of philosophy; and a rapid succession of students diffused the fame of their teachers, as far as the utmost limits of the Grecian language and name. Those limits were enlarged by the victories of Alexander; the arts of Athensaurvivedher freedom and dominion; and the Greek colonies which the Macedonians planted in Egypt, and scattered over Asia, undertook long and frequent pilgrimages to worthip the Muses in their favourite temple on the banks of the Hissus. The Latin conquerors respectfully listened to the instructions of their subjects and captives; the names of Cicero and Horace were inrolled in the schools of Athens; and after the perfect settlement of the Roman empire, the natives of Italy, of Africa, and of Britain, conversed in the groves of the academy with their fellow-students of the East. The studies of philosophy and eloquence are congenial to a popular state, which encourages the freedom of inquiry, and submits only to the force of persuasion. In the republics of Greece and Rome, the art of speaking was the powerful engine of patriotism or ambition; and the schools of thetoric poured forth a colony of statesmen and legislators. When the liberty of public debate was suppressed, the orator, in the honourable profession of an advocate, might plead the cause of innocence and justice; he might abuse his talents in the more profitable trade of panegyric; and the same pre-

^{*} Director Larry Law Vite Philosoph. II vy serm. DI. p. 188.

cepts continued to dictate the funciful declama- char. tions of the sophist, and the chaster beauties of Xf. historical composition. The systems which professed to unfold the nature of God, of man, and of the universe, entertained the curiosity of the philosophic student; and according to the temper of his mind, he might doubt with the sceptics, or decide with the stoics, sublinely speculate with Plato, or severely argue with Aristotle. pride of the adverse sects had fixed an unattainable term of moral Impoiness and perfection; but the race was glorious and salutary; the disciples of Zeno, and even those of Epicurus, were taught both to act and to suffer; and the death of Petronius was not less effectual than that of Seneca, to humble a tyrant by the discovery of his impotence. The light of science could not indevel be confined within the walls of Athens. Her incomparable writers address themselves to the human race; the living musters emigrated to Italy and Asia; Berytus, in later times, was devoted to the study of the law; astronomy and physic were cultivated in the museum of Alexandrin; but the Attic schools of rhetoric and phibsophymaintained their superior reputation from the Peloponnesian war to the reign of Justinian. Athens, though situate in a barren soil, possessed a pure air, a free navigation, and the monuments of ancient art. That sucred retirement was seldom disturbed by the business of trade or government; and the last of the Athenians were distinguished by their lively wit, the purity of their taste and language, their social manners, and

XI.

CHAP. some truces, at least in discourse, of the magnanimity of their fathers. In the suburbs of the city, the academy of the Platonists, the byceum of the Peripatetics, the portice of the Stoics, and the garden of the Epicurcans, were planted with trees and decorated with statues; and the philosophers, instead of being immured in a cloister, delivered their instructions in spacious and pleasant walks, which, at different hours, were consecrated to the exercises of the mind and body. The genius of the founders still lived in those venerable seats; the ambition of succeeding to the masters of human reason, excited agenerous emulation; and the merit of the candidates was determined, on each vacancy, by the free voices of an colightened people. The Athenian professors were paid by their disciples: according to their mutual wants and abilities, the price appears to have varied from a minato a talent; and Isocrates himself, who derides the avarice of the sophists, required in his school of rhetoric, about thirty pounds from each of his hundred pupils. The wages of industry are just and honourable, yet the same Isocrates shed tears at the first receipt of a stipend: the stoic might blush when he was hired to needle the contempt of money; and I should be sarry to discover, that Aristotle or Plato so far degenerated from the example of Socrates, as to exchange knowledge for gold. But some property of lands and houses was settled by the permission of the laws, and the legacies of deceased friends, on the philosophic chairs of Athens. Epicurus bequenthed to his disciples the gardens

which he had purchased for eighty minze, or two GRAP. hundred and fifty pounds, with a fund sufficient XLa for their frugal subsistence and monthly festivals; and the patrimony of Plato afforded an annual rent, which, in eight centuries, was gradually increased from three to one thousand pieces of gold. The schools of Athens were protected by the wisest and most virtuous of the Roman princes. The library which Hadrian founded, was placed in a portico, adorned with pictures, statues, and a roof of alabaster, and supported by one hundred columns of Phrygian murble. The public salaries were assigned by the generous spirit of the Antonines; and each professor, of politics, of rhetoric, of the Platonic, the Peripatetic, the Stoic, and the Epicurean philosophy, received an annual stipend of tenthousand drachmae, or more than three hundred pounds sterling." After the death of Murcus. these liberal donations, and the privileges attached to the thrones of science, were abolished and revived, diminished and enlarged; but some vestige

A See the treatment of Epittern or Diegra Laure I, a segre 16-30, p. 411, 612. A single colube (ad Familiares, p.in. 1) alsolays the injuritie of the Accountaging the Edulity of the Epinismus, the dexturing politicates of Carro, and the mixture of commun and begoing with which itis Remain scarrer considered the philosophy and place bamphass of Greats

Deputation, in Vit. Inches. apaid Photosom, cod. evalu. p. 1054.

^{*} See Luctur, für Amuch tom II. p. 1159-1159, edb. Renays Philisstrategy, the Vot. September 2 is, et 2), and Direc Continue or Xiphilling C. Prail, p. 1165), with their offices Du Smit, Obearna, and Retirer, mil, above all, Salmanne, (ed Han, August, p. 72). A judicious pilliminar (Smith's Wealth of Nation, vol. 8, p. 340-374) prefers the free contributions of the students to a fixed atipend for the pres-Country.

CHAP, of royal bounty may be found under the successors of Constantine; and their arbitrary choice of an unworthy candidate might tempt the philosophers of Athens to regret the days of independence and poverty? It is remarkable, that the impartial favour of the Antonines was bestowed on the four adverse sects of philosophy, which they considered as equally useful, or at least as equally innecent. Socrates had formerly been the glory and the reproach of his country; and the first lessons of Epicurus so strangely scandalized the pious cars of the Athenians, that by his exile, and that of his antagonists, they silenced all vain disputes concerning the nature of the gods. But in the ensuing year they recalled the hasty decree, restored the liberty of the schools, and were convinced, by the experience of ages, that the moral character of philosophers is not uffected by the diversity of their theological speculations."

They are апррисший by Justiwater.

The Gothic arms were less fatal to the schools of Athens than the establishment of a new religion, whose ministers superseded the exercise of reason, resolved every question by an article of faith, and condemned the infidel or sceptic to eternal flames.

Bracker, Hist. Con. Philosoph. rom. U. p. 310, &c.

⁼ The britts of Episacus is Exed to the year 342 before Christs. chaptes. Olympiat six, Sx and he opened his school at Athens, Olympic gradii. B. 306 years before the agine was. This intellerant law (Attament, L Mil, p. 610) Diegen, Larries, L v. z. 28, p. 1902 Julias Palles, in, b) was emeted in the same, or the amounting year, (liighelia, Oppi tonic v. p. 62 i Monighia, ad Diogras Limit, p. 2042 Commi fort Arried, tome ry, p. 67, brie. Theophrastics, chief of the Verigotetins, and disciple of Armsorie, was involved in the exme exile.

In many a volume of laborious controversy, they char. exposed the weakness of the understanding and XL the corruption of the heart, insulted human nature in the sages of antiquity, and proscribed the spirit of philosophical inquiry, so repugnant to the doctrine, or at least to the temper, of an humble believer. The surviving sect of the Platonists, whom Plato would have blushed to acknowledge, extravagantly mingled a sublime theory with the practice of superstition and magic; and as they remained alone in the midst of a Christian world, they indulged a secret rancouragainst the government of the church and state; whose severity was still suspended over their heads. About a century after the reign of Julian', Proclus' was permitted to teach in the Postus philosophic chair of the academy; and such was his industry that he frequently, in the same day, pronounced fivelessons, and composed seven hundred lines. His sagacious mind explored the deepest questions of morals and metaphysics, and he ventured to urge eighteen arguments against the Christian doctrine of the creation of the world. But in the intervals of study, he personally conversed with Pan, Asculapius, and Minerva, in whose mysteries he was secretly initiated, and whose prostrate statues he

" This is us fanciful was the pagers seckned their calmines from the reign of their here. Proclus, whose matrix) is marked by his horsecope, (A. D. \$19, February S, at C. P.), died 124 years aws labour fired mr. A. D. 485, (Marini in Vita Provin, r. 260.

[&]quot; The life of Process, by Marines, was published by Fabricius, (Hamburgh; 1700; et ad caleem filhlist: faithe Loof; 1702) See Sunday, Corn. 10. p. 185, 106y; Fabricus, (Bibliot, Green h. e. c. 26, p. \$45-010), and Brysler, (Hist. Call. Philimpps, term it, p. 216. 3265

CHAP.

adored; in the devout persuasion that the philosopher, who is a citizen of the universe. should be the priest of its various deities. An eclipse of the sun announced his approaching end; and his life, with that of his scholar Isidare. compiled by two of their most learned disciples, exhibits a deplorable picture of the second childbood of human reason. Yet the golden chain, as it was fondly styled, of the Platonic succession. continued forty-four years from the death of Proclus; to the edict of Justinian, which imposed a perpetual silence on the schools of Athens, and excited the grief and indignation of the few remaining votaries of Greeian science and superstition, Seven friends and philosophers, Diogenes and Hermins, Eulalius and Priscian, Dumascius, Isidore, and Simplicius, who discented from the religion of their sovereign, embraced the resolution of seeking in a foreign land the freedom which was denied in their native country. They had heard, and they credulously believed, that the republic of Plato was realized in the despetic government of Persia, and that a patriot king reigned over the bappiest and most virtuous of nations. They were soon astonished by the natural discovery that Persiaresembled the other countries of the globe; that Chosroes, who affected the name of a philosopher, was vain, cruel, and ambitious; that bigotry, and

His silegenera, A. D. 483-528.

The 10s of Indexe was compared by Danascons, again Histings and rexills, p. 1088-1076). See the last age of the pages phineophors in Branker, com. ii. p. 541-5515.

[&]quot;The suppression of the actions of Athena is respect by John Mutalla, (rome W. p. 187; our Deris Co. 3-1), and an aconymical Carmicle in the Vatican Strong, topol Aleman, p. 1065

a spirit of intolerance, prevailed among the Magi; CHAP. that the nobles were houghty, the courtiers service, and the magistrates unjust; that the guilty sometimes escaped, and that the innocent were often oppressed. The disappointment of the philosophers, provoked them to overlook the real virtues of the Persians; and they were scandalized, more deeply perhaps than became their profession, with the plurality of wives and concubines, the incestnous marriages, and the custom of exposing dead bodies to the dogs and vultures, instead of hiding them in the earth, or consuming them with fire. Their repentance was expressed by a precipitate return, and they loudly declared that they had rather die on the horders of the empire, than enjoy the wealth and favour of the barbarian. From this journey, however, they derived a benefit which reflects the purest fustre on the character of Chosroes. He required, that the seven sages who had visited the court of Persia, should be exempted from the penal laws which Justinian enacted against his pagun subjects; and this privilege, expressly stipulated in a treaty of peace, was guarded by the vigilance of a powerful mediator." Simplicius The lan of and his companions ended their lives in peace and mother. obscurity; and as they left no disciples, they terminate the long list of Grecian philosophers, who may be justly praised, notwithstanding their defects, as the wisest and most virtuous of their con-

^{*} Agathese (l. H. p. 89, 70, 71) relates this surface story. Charces exceeded the theory in the year 3(1), and made his first paner with the Remone in the beginning of \$25, a cite must compatible with his young lates and the old age of littlers, (Asserted, Billion, Occupatime [1], p. 104. Page, tom. 0, p. 543, 155.

CHAP. temporaries. The writings of Simplicius are now XL extant. His physical and metaphysical commentaries on Aristotle have passed away with the fashion of the times; but his moral interpretation of Epictetus, is preserved in the library of nations, as a classic book, most excellently adapted to direct the will, to purify the heart, and to confirm the understanding, by a just confidence in the nature both of God and man.

The Ro-THE PERsubskip orthe description. by Junti. ninn. A. D. 641.

About the same time that Pythagorus first invented the appellation of philosopher, liberty and the consulship were founded at Rome by the elder Brutus. The revolutions of the consular office, which may be viewed in the successive lights of a substance, a shadow, and a name, have been occasionally mentioned in the present history. The first magistrates of the republic bed been chosen by the people, to exercise, in the senate and in the camp, the powers of peace and war, which were afterwards translated to the emperors. But the tradition of ancient dignity was long revered by the Romans and burbarinas. A Gothic historian applands the consulship of Theodoric as the height of all temporal glory and greatness ! the king of Italy himself congratulates those annual favourites of fortune, who, without the cares, enjoyed the splendaur of the throne; and at the end of a thousand years, two consuls were created by the sovereigns of Rome and Constantinople, for the sole purpose of giving a date to the year, and a

Consister, Variation Phins, et. I. Jornandes, m. 37, p. 686, edit. Grot. Qual summing beauty primming to mande down estilling

festival to the people. But the expences of this CHAP. festival, in which the wealthy and the vain aspired Nato surpass their predecessors, insensibly arose to the enormous sum of fourscore thousand pounds; the wiscat senators declined an useless honour, which involved the certain rain of their families; and to this reluctance I should impute the frequent chasins in the last age of the consular Fasti. The predecessors of Justinian had assisted from the public treasures the dignity of the less opulent candidates; the avarice of that prince preferred the cheaper and more convenient method of advice and regulation. Seven processions or spectacles were the number to which his edict confined the horse and chariot races, the athletic sports, the music, and pantomimes of the theatre, and the lamting of wild beasts; and small pieces of silver were discreetly substituted to the gold medals, which land always excited tunnel and drunkerness, when they were senttered with a profuse hand among the populace. Notwithstanding these precautions and his own example, the succession of consuls finally ceased in the thirteenth year of Justinian, whose despotic temper might be gratified by the silent extinction of a title which admonished the Romans of their ancient freedom," Yet the annual consulship still lived in the minds of the people; they

year after the consulation of Beating, accounting to the recurring of Marriemann, Verney, Marriet, Art. the secret finders was compared, adds to the eyes of Proposition, the consultatio was finally about her.

¹ See the regulations of Justinian, (Novell, pr), dated as Commun. thought, July 5, and addressed to Strategies, terminant of the compute. * Premplet, in Accepte to 28. Abrunt 5, 106. [in the worldt.

NL

fondly expected its speedy restoration; they applanded the gracious condescension of successive princes, by whom it was assumed in the first year of their reign; and three centuries clapsed, after the death of Justinian, before that obsolete dignity, which had been suppressed by custom, could be abolished by law. The imperfect mode of distinguishing each year by the name of a magistrate, was namely supplied by the date of a permanent era: the creation of the world, according to the septuagint version, was adopted by the Greeks; and the Latins, since the age of Charlemagne, have computed their time from the birth of Christ.

2 According to Julius Africanna, &c. the world was argured the first of September, 5202 years three towards and twenty-disc days because the bests of Christ, (see Ferror, Antiquied des Terms defendur, p. 3-28), and this era has been used by the Greeks, the Oriental Christians, and even by the Russians, till the reign of Peter I. The period, however artifact, is then and experient. Of the Tradysers which are required to shape along the experient, we dealt 2nd 1000 of injurance and fathers; 2000 other fabrices or doubtful; 1000 of medical history, commenting with the Periods, empty, and the republic of Rame and Atheres; 1000 than the father of the Rosson empire in the west to the discrevey of America; and the representing 126 will also be compiler three continues of the understance of Europe and numbers. I regret this chromology, us the prefer his to our doubte and payd and mathes of counting tooks and forwards the years sefare and after the Christian era.

* The ent of the world had prevailed in the Next more the with general commit. (A. D. 681). In the West the Christian set was lived invented in the with century: it was propagated in the with by the summing and writings of recentle Rober; but it was not till the arbition the me became legal and popular. See l'Ari de semiler less Dates, Dieser, Prelimentage, p. ni, m. Thermoure Diplomatique, term is p. 329-337; the works of a subgroup makes of Remaining marries.

CHAP, XLL

Compared of Justinian in the West-Character and first campaigns of Belicarius. He insudes and subdues the Faulal kingdom of Africa-Histriamph-The Guthie war-He remerry Sicily, Naples, and Rome-Siege of Runs by the Guths-Their retreat and larger-Sarrender of Rassma-Clary of Beliavins-His domestic shows and mirfortunes.

WHEN Justinian ascended the throne, about CHAP. fifty years after the fall of the western eme XLL pire, the kingdoms of the Goths and Vandals Jumpies had obtained a solid, and, as it might seem, a profess is legal establishment both in Europe and Africa, Africa, The titles which Roman victory had inscribed, were erazed with equal justice by the sword of the barbarians; and their successful rapine derived a more venerable sauction from time, from treaties, and from the oaths of fidelity, already repeated by a second or third generation of obedient subjects. Experience and Christianity had refuted the superstitious hope, that Rome was founded by the gods to reign for ever over the nations of the earth. But the proud claim of perpetual and indefeaallde dominion, which her soldiers could no longer maintain, was firmly asserted by her statesmon and lawyers, whose opinions have been sometimes

MILL.

revived and propagated in the modern schools of jurisprudence. After Rome herself had been stripped of the imperial flurple, the princes of Constantinople assumed the sole and sacred sceptre of the monarchy; demanded, as their rightful inheritauce, the provinces which had been subdued by the consuls, or possessed by the Casars; and feebly aspired to deliver their faithful subjects of the West from the usurpation of heretics and barbarians. The execution of this splendid design was in some degree reserved for Justinian. During the five first years of his reign, he reluctantly waged a costly and unprofitable war against the Persians; till his pride submitted to his ambition, and he purchased, at the price of four hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, the benefit of a precarrous trace, which, in the language of both nations, was dignified with the appellation of the endless peace. The safety of the East enabled the emperor to employ his forces against the Vandals; and the internal state of Africa afforded an honourable motive, and promised a powerful support, to the Roman arms."

State of the Vandais-Hilderic, A. D. Ar3-000;

According to the testament of the founder, the African kingdom had lineally descended to Hilderic the eldest of the Vandal princes. A mild

The camplete earns of the Vanial war is related by Precopositio repulse and degant agreative, it. 1, c. 9-25; i. it. v. 1-180; and happy would be my lot, could I always treat in the florance of such a guide. From the entire and diligent persons of the Greek text, I have a right to pronounce that the Latin and French terminated Grotten and County may not be implicitly trusted you the president County has been eiter present, and Hogs Greekes was the first a later of a branch age.

disposition inclined the son of a tyrant, the grand- CHAF. son of a conqueror, to prefer the counsels of clemency and peace; and his accession was marked by the salutary edict, which restored two hundred bishops to their churches, and allowed the free profession of the Athanasian creed." But the catholicsaccepted, with cold and transient gratitude. a favour so inadequate to their pretensions, and the virtues of Hilderic offended the projudices of his countrymen. The Arian clergy presumed to insimuate that he hadrenounced the faith, and the soldiers more locally complained that he had degenegated from the courage, of his ancestors. His ambassadors were suspected of a secret and disgraceful negotiation in the Byzantine court; and his general, the Achilles, as he was named, of the Vandals, lost a battle against the unked and disorderly Moors. The public discontent was ex- genner. asperated by Gelimer, whose age, descent, and mi- A. D. 330litary fame, gave him an apparent title to the occussion; he assumed, with the consent of the indion, the reim of government; and his unfortunatesovereign sunk without a struggle from the

See Ruleare, Hist. Personnt. Vanish of 2th profile the best one denomia drawn from the life of St. Subgentilles, empound by the of his discipline, transcribed in a great increase in the smalls of Barconust, and petitied its several great collections, (Catalog, Bilatios, Remeasure, here, i. wil the p. 12 by.

^{*} Pay what quality of the mint us body ! The speed, or beauty, or calour 5-In want language and the Variable mad House 5-Till. he speck German b. The Latins and Son versions, (Falses, tone to being c. 3, p. 1973); yet in spits of the passes of Sames, (Const. c. 1971, they appear to here been more successful to mitaling, then in trace latting, the Grack points. But the name of Achilles saight to farming and popular, even many the dilityrate buylantas.

cuar throne to a dangeon, where he was strictly guarded with a faithful counsellor, and his unpopular nephew the Achilles of the Vandals. But the indulgence which Hilderic had shown to his catholic subjects had powerfully recommended him to the favour of Justinian, who, for the benefit of his own sect, could acknowledge the use and justice of religious toleration : their alliance, while the nephew of Justin remained in a private station, was comented by the mutual exchange of gifts and letters; and the emperor Justinian asserted the cause of royalty and friendship. In two successive embassies, he admonished the usurper to repent of his treason, or to abstain, at least, from any further violence, which might provoke the displeasure of God and of the Romans: to reverence the laws of kindred. and specession, and to suffer an infirm old man peaceably to end his days, either on the throne of Carthage, or in the palace of Constantinople, The passions or even the prudence of Gelimer compelled him to reject these requests, which were urged in the haughty tone of menace and command; and be justified his ambition in a fanrugge rarely spoken in the Byzantine court, by alleging the right of a free people to remove or punish their chief magistrate, who had titled in the execution of the kingly office. After this fruitless expostulation, the captive monarch was more rigorously treated, his nephew was deprived of his eves, and the cruel Vandal, confident in his strength and distance, derided the vain threats and slow prepartions of the emperor of the East Justinian

resolved to deliver or revenge his friend, Gelimer WHAP. to maintain his usurpation: and the war was preceded, according to the practice of civilized nations, by the most solemn protestations that each party was sincerely desirous of peace.

The report of an African war was grateful only between to the vain and idle populace of Constantinople, and are whose poverty exempted them from tribute, and whose cowardice was seldom exposed to military service. But the wiser citizens, who judged of the future by the past, revolved in their memory the immense loss, both of men and money, which the empire had sustained in the expedition of Basiliscus. The troops, which after five laborious campaigns had been recalled from the Persian frontier. dreaded the sea, the climate, and the arms of an unknown enemy. The ministers of the finances computed, as far as they might compute, the demands of an African war; the taxes which must be found and levied to supply those insatinte demands; and the danger, lest their own lives, or at least their incrative employments, should be made responsible for the deficiency of the supply. Inspired by such selfeth motives, (for we may not suspect him of any zeal for the public good). John of Cappadocia ventured to oppose in full council the inclinations of his master. He confessed, that a victory of such importance could not be too dearly purchased; but he represented in a grave discourse the certain difficulties and the uncertain event. " You undertake," said

the prefect, " to besiege Curthage by land; the

CHAP.

" distance is not less than one hundred and fort? " days journey; on the sea, a whole years must elapse before you can receive any intelligence " from your fleet. If Africa should be reduced, " it cannot be preserved without the additional " conquest of Sicily and Italy. Successwill impose " the obligation of new labours; a single mistor-" tune will attract the barbarians into the heart " of your exhausted empire." Justinian felt the weight of this saluture advice; bewas confounded by the me outed freedom of molecquious servant; and the design of the war would perhaps have been relinquished, if his courage had not been revived by a voice which silenced the doubts of profane reason. "I have seen a vision," cried an artful or fanatic bishop of the East. " It is the will of " heaven, O emperor! that you should not abandon " your hely enterprise for the deliverance of the " African church. The God of battles will march " before your standard, and disperse your enemies, " who are the onemies of his Son." The emperor might be tempted, and his counsellors were constrained, to give credit to this seasonable revelation; but they derived more rational hope from the revolt, which the adherents of Hilderic or Athenesius had already excited on the borders of the Vandal monarchy. Podeutius, an African subject, had privately signified his loyal intentious,

of year-advant engagnation? The complest of Africa may be stated X. Iv. 533, September 18: it is combined by Jordanian in the pirtum to his furtibility, which were published November 21 of the sone year. Including the copyage and cream, such a computation when he truly explicate one Indian empire.

and a small military aid restored the province of CHAP.

Tripoli to the obedience of the Romans. The government of Sardinia had been intrusted to Godes, a valiant barbarian; he suspended the payment of tribute, disclaimed his allegiance to the usurper, and gave audience to the emissaries of Justinian, who found him master of that fruitful island, at the head of his guards, and proudly invested with the ensigns of royalty. The forces of the Vandals were diminished by discord and suspicion; the Roman armies were amounted by the spirit of Belisarius; one of those heroic names which are famillar to every age and to every nation.

The Africanus of new Rome was born, and per-Charles haps educated, among the Thracian peasants, and shake without any of those advantages which had formed the the virtues of the older and the younger Scipio; anobicorigm, liberal studies, and the emulation of a free state. The silence of a loquacious secretary may be admitted, to prove that the youth of Belissarius could not afford any subject of praise: he served, most essuredly with valour and reputation, among the private guards of Justinian; and when his patron became emperor, the domestic was promoted to military command. After a bold intend into Persarmenia, in which his glory was shared by acolleague, and his progress was checked by an enemy. Belisarius repaired to the important sta-

VOL. VII.

[&]quot;Transmit of Antony Cr to Thomas, I Mostory as Linear strains, and assert a p.

5); on Training county engine the Common visings of Cophagina and Volumes, who weaked to claim the heavy but his Germana, a metallication Thrain, I mainly that he say girll be problemed as in the provision and claim.

STA.

His serviers in the Persian war, 5. IX 329-

tion of Dara, where he first accepted the service of Precopius, the faithful companion, and diligent historien, of his exploits. The Mirranes of Persia advanced, with forty thousand of her best troops, to raze the fortifications of Dara; and signified the day and the hour on which the citizens should prepare a bath for his refreshment after the tolls of victory. He encountered an adversary equal to himself, by the new title of General of the East; his superior in the science of war, but much inferior in the number and quality of his troops, which amounted only to twentyrive thousand Romans and strangers, relaxed in their discipline, and humbled by recent disasters. As the level plain of Dara refused all shelter to stratagem and amhush. Belisarius protected his front with a deep trencia, which was prolonged at first in perpendicular, and afterwards in pasalled lines, to cover the wings of envalvy advantageously posted to command the flanks and rear of the specury. When the Roman centre-was shalom, their well-timed and rapid charge above cided the conflict: the standard of Persia fell; the onmortals fled; the infantsy threw away their bucklers, and eight thousand of the vanquished were left on the field of hattle. In the next campaign. Syria was invaded on the side of the desert; and Belisurius, with twenty thousand men, hastened from Dara to the relief of the province. During the whole summer, the designs of the enclny were lattled by his skilfed dispositions; he

The principal first Preside comparings of References are timey and the planting principal by the acceptance (Person L.), is 15-10.

pressed their retreat, occupied each night their camp of the preceding day, and would have secured a bloodless victory, if he could have resisted the impatience of his own troops: Their valimit promise was faintly supported in the hour of buttle. the right wing was exposed by the treacherous or cowardly desertion of the Christian Arabat the Huns, a veteran band of eight hundred warriors; were oppressed by superior numbers; the flight of the Ismirians was intercepted; but the Roman infantry stood firm on the left, for Belianrius himself, dismounting from his horse, shewed them that intrepiddespairws their only safety. They turned their backs to the Emphrates, and their faces to the enemy; immumerable arrows glanced without effect from the compact and shelving order of their bucklers; an impenetrable line of pikes was opposed to the repeated escalts of the Persian cavalry; and after a resistance of many hours, the remaining troops were skilfully embarked under the slindow of the night. The Persian commander ratired with disorder and disgrace, to answer a strict account of the lives of somany soldiers which he had consumed in a barren victory. But the fume of Belisarius was not sullied by a defeat, in which alone he had saved his army from the consequences of their own rashness: the approach of peace relieved him from the guard of the eastern frontier, and his conduct in the sedition of Constantinopleamply discharged his obligations to the emperor. When the African war became the topic of popular discourse and secret deliberation, each of the Roman generals was apprehensive, rather than

CHAP:

XI.L

on are ambitious, of the dangerous honour; but as soon na Justinian had declared his preference of superior merit, their envy was rekindled by the unanimous appliance which was given to the choice of Belisarius. The temper of the Byzantine court may encourage a suspicion, that the hero was darkly assisted by the intrigues of his wife, the fair and subtle Antonina, who alternately enjoycal the confidence, and incurred the hatred, of the suppress Themlora. The birth of Antenius was ignoble; she descended from a family of chariotiers; and her chastity has been stained with the foulest reproach. Yet she reigned with long and absolute power over the mind of her illustrious husband p and if Antonina disdained the merit of conjugat fidelity, she expressed a munly friguibility to Belisteius, whom the accompanied with undaunted resolution in all the hurdships and dangers of a military life."

Propers. Hirms for the Afrimit war. A. D. 323

The preparations for the African war were not unworthy of the last contest between Home and Carthage. The pride and flower of the army consisted of the guards of Belisarius, who, greatding to the parnicious indulgence of the times, devoted themselves by a particular outh of fidelity to the service of their patron. Their strength and stature, for which they had been curiously selected, the goodness of their horses and armour, and the assiduous practice of all the exercises of war, enabled them to act whatever their courage might prompt;

s See the both and character of America, to the Anapotes, o. L. and he come of Alemanous, p. L.

and their courage was exalted by the social ho- cuar. nour of their rank, and the personal ambition of favour and fertune. Four hundred of the brayest of the Hernli marched under the hanner of the faithful and active Pharas; their untractable valour was more highly prized than the tame sulmission of the Greeks and Strians; and of such importance was it deemed to procure a reinforcement of six hundred Massagette, or Huns, that they were allured by fraud and deceit to engage in a naval expedition. Five thousand horse and ten thousand foot were embarked at Constantinople for the conquest of Africa; but the infantry, for the most part levied in Thrace and Isauria, vielded to the more prevailing use and reputation of the cavalry; and the Seythian how was the weapon on which the armies of Rome were now reduced to place their principal dependence. From a landable desire to useert the dignity of his theme, Procoping defends the soldiers of his own time against the morose critics, who confined that respectable name to the beavyarmed warriors of antiquity, and muliciously observed, that the word moher is introduced by Homer's as a term of contempt. " Such contempt " might perhaps be due to the naked worths who " appeared un foot in the fields of Troy, and, " hirking behind a tomb-stone, or the shield of a

^{3,} fire the profess of Perceptus. The enoughs of arthory neight quite the ergranables of Diamede, Glind, A. Bill, Say, and the permilitary enthern wentle of Lucius, from 18th - pet, the formers could ent depose the arrows of the Partitions; and in the sleep of Trey, Paulierus, Paris, and Tracer, pierced their haughty warrion who tositted them as women or children.

CHAR

" friend, drew the bow-string to their breast," " and dismissed a feeble and lifeless arrow. But " our archers (pursues the historian) are mounted " on horses, which they manage with admirable " skill: their head and shoulders are protected by " a cask or buckler; they wear greaves of iron on " their legs, and their hodies are guarded by a cont " of mail. On their right side hangs a quiver, a " sword on their left, and their hand is accustoms " ed to wield'n lance, or javelin, in closer combat. " Their hows are strong and weighty; they shoot " in every possible direction, advancing, retreat-" ing, to the front, to the rear, or to either flank " and as they are taught to draw the bow-string " not to the breast, but to the right ear, firm in-" deed must be the armour that can resist the ra-" pid violence of their shaft." Five hundred transports, navigated by twenty thousand mariners of Egypt, Cilicia, and Ionia, were collected in the harbour of Constantinople. The smallest of these vessels may be computed at thirty, the largest at five hundred tons; and the fair average will supply an allowance, liberal, but not profuse, of about one hundred thousand tons," for the reception of

Super per pulse extense, rain it adopt, (Black A, 173). Here conclude beautiful is the educid partner? I'me the entitle suffer of the artistic of the artistic at the artistic of the artistic

Andy Jore, worth pay ergo, alore 2 form.

* The east appears to allow for the largest second 20,000 members, or 2000 term, terms the weak-way wrighed too Herman, or 128 ever-dupole, presents. I have given a more retinest interpretations by supposing that the Attic style of Proseptin conceans the logal and popular materia, a texts part of the medicates, things of Ameier Memories, p. 178.

thirty-five thousand soldiers and sailors, of five cuarthousand horses, of arms, engines, and military XLE stores, and of a sufficient stock of water and provisions for a voyage, perhaps, of three months. The proud galleys, which in former ages swept the Mediterranean with so many hundred oars, had long since disappeared; and the fleet of Justinian was escorted only by ninety-two light brigantines, covered from the missile weapons of the enemy, and rowed by two thousand of the brave and robust youth of Constantinople. Twentytwo generals are named, most of whom were afterwards distinguished in the wars of Africa and Italy's but the supreme command, both by land and sea, was delegated to Belisarius alone, with a boundless power of acting according to his discretion, as if the emperor himself were present. The separation of the naval and milltary professions is at once the effect and the cause of the modern improvements in the science of navigation and maritime war.

In the seventh year of the reign of Justinian, n-passes and about the time of the aummer solstice, the of the whole fleet of six hundred ships was ranged in A D art. martial pour before the gurdens of the palace. The patriarch pronounced his benediction, the emperor signified his last commands, the general's trampet gave the signal of departure, and every beart, according to its fears or wishes, explored

p. 157, A.C., A contary, and halled a straight, country, he coupisto an oughles of Engarders, frontes House-torseen, le House Organe. times, tim. it, P. d. y. 34). He actions the wester of this from 300 ht 50, and translating soluter by where, or permits, Comme has strength altered 519 tons for the whole of the imperiod that has Did be have think?

CHAP, with anxious curiosity the omens of misfortune and success. The first halt was made at Perinthus or Heraciea, where Belisarius waited five days to receive some Thracian horses, a military gift of his sovereign. From thence the fleet pursued their course through the midst of the Propontis; but as they struggled to pass the straits of the Hellespont, an unfavourable wind detained them four slays at Abydus, where the general exhibited a memorable lesson of firmness and severity. Two of the Huns, who, in a drunken quarrel, had slain one of their fellow-soldiers, were instantly shown to the army suspended on a lofty gibbet. The national indignity was resented by their countrymen, who disclaimed the servile laws of the empire, and asserted the free privilege of Scythin, where a small fine was allowed to expinte the hasty sallies of intemperance and anger. Their complaints were specious, their clamours were loud, and the Romans were not averse to the example of disorder and impunity. But the rising redition was appeared by the authority and eloquence of the general: and he represented to the assembled troops the obligation of justice, the importance of discipline, the rewards of piety and virtue, and the unpurdonable guilt of murder, which, in his apprehension, was aggravated rather than excused by the vice of intoxication.1 In the navigation from the Hellespont to Peloponnesus, which the Greeks,

I I have send of a Grock legislatur, who legisted a disable penalty on the estimate amount that in a many of interactions are but it owners agreed that this was rather a political than a moral fam.

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after the siege of Troy, and performed in four CHAP. days," the fleet of Belianrins was guided in their course by his nuster-galley, conspicuous in the day by the redness of the sails, and in the night by the torches blazing from the must-head. It was the duty of the pilots, as they steered between the islands, and turned the capes of Malea and Tarns rium, to preserve the just order and regular intervals of such a multitude of ships; as the wind was fair and moderate, their labours were not un successful, and the troops were safely disembarked at Methone on the Messenian coast, to repose themselves for a while after the fatigues of the sea. In this place they experienced how avarice, invested with authority, may sport with the lives of thousands which are bravely exposed for the publie service. According to military practice, the bread or biscuit of the Romanswastwice prepared in the oven, and a diminution of one-fourth was cheerfully allowed for the loss of weight. To gain this minerable profit, and to save the expence of wood, the prefect John of Cappadocia had given orders that the flour should be slightly baked by the same fire which warmed the boths of Constantinople; and when the sacks were opened, a soft and mouldy paste was distributed to the army. Such anwholesame food, assisted by the heat of the climate and season, soon produced an epidemical

[&]quot; Or even in thirst days, since they anchored the feet seening in the amphicuring life of Tenedius the course day they extled to Lowbos, the third to the pronuncry of Holers, and on the fourth they smallers Argre, (Harner, Odyner, 1981-182), Wood's Every on Hoener, p. 46-40). A pittle suffed from the Rellespont to the suspect at Sparts in these days, (Xempton, Heiler, Lill, e. 1).

cuar, disease, which swept away five hundred soldiers. Their health was restored by the diligence of Belisarius, who provided fresh bread at Methone, and boldly expressed his just and humane indignation; the emperor heard his complaint; the general was praised; but the minister was not punished. From the port of Methone, the pilots steered along the western coast of Pelopannesus, as far as the isle of Zacynthus or Zant, before they undertook the voyage (in their eyes a most ordious voyage) of one hundred leagues over the Innian sen. As the flect was surprised live a calm, sixteen days were consumed in the slow navigation; and even the general would have suffered the intolerable hardship of thirst, if the ingenuity of Antonina had not preserved the water in glass bottles, which she buried deep in the sand in a part of the ship impervious to the rays of the sun. At length the harbour of Caucana," on the southern side of Sicily, afforded a secure and hospitable shelter. The Gothic officers who governed the island in the name of the daughter and grandson of Theodoric. obeyed their imprudent orders, to receive the troops of Justiman like friends and allies; provisions were liberally supplied, the cavalry was remounted, and Procopius soon returned from Syracuse with correct information of the state and

^{*} Campana, mene Campanea, to an lease 50 miles 1500 or 100 miles. from Syracuse, efficiery, Soulis Auriges, p. 191,

[&]quot; Processing, Gathley L. I. B. The salley billiaming ages countries gis open, In the Skillen portures of Grouplant, Alloren, Coren, ta. 16. Acragus magastatistics emodern generated squareity, (Virg. #mid. m., 104). Thate's horses, where there's are immerialised by Piedas, were level in this course,

designs of the Vandals. His intelligence deter- CRAT. mined Belisarius to husten his operations, and XLL his wise impatience was seconded by the winds. The fleet lost sight of Sicily, passed before the isle of Malta, discovered the capes of Africa, ran along the coast with a strong gale from the north-east, and finally cast unchor at the promontery of Caput Vada, about five days journey to the south of Carthage.

If Gelimer had been informed of the approach had on of the enemy, he must have delayed the compaest are cost of Sardinia, for the immediate defence of his person and kingdom. A detachment of five thousand soldiers, and one hundred and twenty galleys, would have joined the remaining forces of the Vandals; and the descendant of Generic might have surprised and oppressed a fleet of deep-laden transports, incapable of action, and of light brigantines, that seemed only qualified for flight. Belisarius had secretly trembled when he overheard his soldiers, in the passage, emboldening each other to confess their apprehensions: if they were once on shore, they hoped to maintain the bonour of their arms; but if they should be attacked at sen, they did not blush to acknowledge that they wanted courage to contend at the same time with the winds, the waves, and the bar harians ! The knowledge of their sentiments

⁹ The Capet's als of Procepous swhere Just have no provide founded a city-de Kilitie L et, e. 6), is the promoning of Attacet in Strabe, the Brachados of Prairmy, the Capanna of the medica, a long mirrow hip that some hom the man (Sham's Tennels, p. 1711).

A continuou of Mark Antony expressed, though he a more manly stream, the same shiftle to the sex and to need combane, illustrate in Autyano, p. 1730, etc. Hes. Suph.).

CHAP, decided Belisarius to seize the first opportunity of landing them on the coast of Africa; and he prudently rejected, in a council of war, the proposal of sailing with the fleet and army into the port of Carthage. Three months after their departure from Constantinople, the men and horses, the arms and military stores, were safely disembarked, and five soldiers were left as a guard on board each of the ships, which were disposed in the form of a semicircle. The remainder of the troops occupied a camp on the sea-shore, which they fortified, according to ancient discipline, with a ditch and rampart; and the discovery of a source of fresh water, while it allayed the thirst, ... excited the superstitions confidence of the Romins. The next morning, some of the neighbouring gardens were pillaged; and Belisurius, after clustising the offenders, embraced the alight occasion, but the decisive moment, of inculcating the maxims of justice, moderation, and genuine policy .- When I first accepted the commission " of subduing Africa. I depended much less," said the general, "on the numbers, or even the a bravery, of my troops, than upon the friendly " disposition of the natives, and their immortal " hatreil to the Vandals. You alone can deprive " me of this hope: if you continue to extort by " rapine what might be purchased for a little " money, such acts of violence will reconcile " these implacable enemies, and unite them in a " just and holy league against the invaders of " their country." These exhortations were enferced by a rigid discipline, of which the soldiers

themselves soon felt and praised the salutary char. effects. The inhabitants, instead of deserting xix. their houses, or lidling their corn, supplied the Romans with a fair and liberal market; the civil officers of the province continued to exercise their functions in the name of Justinian; and the clergy, from motives of conscience and interest, assiduously laboured to promote the cause of a cathelic emperor. The small town of Sullecte. one day's journey from the cump, had the honour of being foremost to open her gates, and to resume her uncient allegiance: the larger cities of Leptis and Adrametum imitated the example of loyalty as soon as Belisarius appeared; and he advanced without opposition as far as Grasse, a palace of the Vandal kings, at the distance of fifty miles from Carthage. The weary Romans indulged themselves in the refreshment of shady groves, cool fountains, and delicious fruits; and the preference which Procopius allows to these gardens over my that he had seen, either in the East or West, may he ascribed either to the taste or the fatigue of the historian. In three generations prosperity and a warm climate had dissolved the bardy virtue of the Vandals, who insensibly became the most luxurious of mankind. In their vilhas and gardens, which might deserve the Per-

^{*} Billions is postupe the Turns Hamiltotte, an old including, new to large as the tower of London. The march of Sefences to Lorent, Admiration, As. w discussed by the compalge of Comy, (Rivers, de Belle Abanne, such the Analysi of Guerrardty, and there's Travels, (p. 103-119), in the name country.

CHAP. XLL

sian name of paradice, they enjoyed a cool and clegant repose; and, after the daily use of the bath, the barbarians were sented at a table profusely spread with the delicacies of the land and sea. Their silken robes, loosely flowing, after the fashion of the Medes, were embroidered with gold; love and lainting were the labours of their life; and their vacant hours were amused by pantomimes, chariot-races, and the music and dances of the theatre.

Defeats the Vandale in tim

In a murch of ten or twelve days, the vigila set but ance of Belisarius was constantly awake and notive against his unseen enemies, by whom, in every place, and at every hour, he might be suddenly attacked. An officer of confidence and merit, John the Armenian, led the vanguard of three bundred horse; six bundred Massagetacovered at a certain distance the left flank; and the whole fleet steering along the coast, seldom lost sight of the army, which moved each day about twelve miles, and lodged in the evening in strong camps or in friendly towns. The near approach of the Romans to Carthage filled the mind of Gelimer with anxiety and terror. He prudently wished to protract the war till his brother, with his veteran troops, should return from the conquest of Sardinia; and he now lamented the rash policy of his ancestors, who, by

[&]quot; Hardiere saldere deneral de sale epin. The parallers, a more and thillan adopted form Pends, may be a presented by the royal gardier of Lapanene (Voyage d'Olderfort, p. 174). Sees in the Grook romances, their mess periors model, thought, Pasteral I, to, p. 95-103 Activity Terring 1 1, 7 - 27, 281.

destroying the fortifications of Africa, had left him only the dangerous resource of risking a battle in the neighbourhood of his capital. Vandal conquerors, from their original number of fifty thousand, were multiplied, without inchidling their women and children, to one hundred and sixty thousand fighting men; and such forces, unimated with valour and amon, might have crushed, at their first landing, the feeble and exhausted bands of the Roman general. But the friends of the captive king were more inclined to accept the invitations, than to resist the progress, of Belouries; and many a proud burburian disgnised his aversion to war under the more specious name of his harred to the usurper. Yet the authority and promises of Gelimer collected a formidable army, and his plans were concerted with some degree of military skill. An order was desputched to his brother Ameuntas, to collect all the forces of Carthage, and to encounter the van of the Roman army at the distance of ten miles from the city; his nephew Gibamund, with two thousand horse, was destined to attack their left, whom the monarch himself, who silently followed, should charge their rear, in a situation which excluded them from the aid or even the view of their fleet. But the rashness of Ammatus was fatal to himself and his country. He anticipated the hour of attack, outstripped his tardy followers, and was pierced with a mortal wound, after he had slain with his own hand twelve of his boldest antagonists. His Vandals fied to Carthage; the highway, almost

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cuar, ten miles, was strewed with dead bodies; and it seemed incredible that such multitudes could be slaughtered by the swords of three hundred Romans. The nephew of Gelimer was defeated after a slight combat by the six hundred Massagets: they did not equal the third part of his numbers; but each Scythian was fired by the example of his chief, who glariously exercised the privilege of his family, by riding foremest and alone to shoot the first arrow against the enemy. In the meanwhile, Gelimer himself, ignorant of the event, and misguided by the windings of the hills, inadvertently passed the Reman army, and reached the scene of action where Ammatas had fallen. He went the fate of his brother and of Carthage, charged with irresistable fury the advancing squadrons, and might have pursued, and perhaps decided, the victory, if he had not wasted these inestimable moments in the discharge of a vain, though nious, duty to the dead. While his spirit was broken by this moundful office, he heard the trumpet of Belisarius, who leaving Antonina and his infantry in the camp, pressed forwards with his guards and the remainder of the cavalry to rally his flying troops, and to restore the fortune of the day. Much room could not be found in this discretely buttle for the talents of a general; but the king fled before the hero; and the Vandals, accustomed only to a Moorish enemy, were incapable of withstanding the arms and dissipline of the Romans. Gelimer retired with hasty steps towards the desert of Numalin; but he had soon the consolation of learning that his

CHAP.

private orders for the execution of Hilderic and his captive friends land been faithfully obeyed. The tyrant's revenge was useful only to his enemies. The death of a lawful prince excited the compassion of his people; his life might have perplexed the victorious Romans; and the lieutenant of Justinian, by a crime of which he was innocent, was relieved from the painful alternative of forfelting his honour or relinquishing his conquests.

As soon as the tumnit had subsided, the several Reduction parts of the army informed each other of the mage, accidents of the day; and Belisarius pitched his A. D. 523, camp on the field of victory, to which the tenth mile-stone from Carthage had applied the Latin appellation of decimus: From a wise suspicion of the stratagems and resources of the Vandals, he marched the next day in order of battle, halted in the evening before the gates of Carthage, and allowed a night of repose, that he might not, in darkness and disorder, expose the city to the liconse of the soldiers, or the soldiers themselves to the secret ambush of the city. But as the fears of Belisarius were the result of calm and intrepid ceason, he was soon satisfied that he might confide, without danger, in the peaceful and friendly aspect of the capital. Carthage blazed with innumerable torches, the signals of the public joy : the chain was removed that guarded the entrance of the port; the gates were thrown open, and the people, with acclamations of gratitude, bailed and invited their Roman deliverers. The defeat of the Vandals, and the freedom of Africa, were

CHAP.

announced to the city on the eve of St. Cyprian. when the churches were already adorned and illuminuted for the festival of the martyr, whom three centuries of superstition had almost raised to a local deity. The Arians, conscious that their reign had expired, resigned the temple to the catholies, who rescued their saint from profune hands, performed the holy rites, and loudly proclaimed the creed of Athanasius and Justinian. One awful hour reversed the fortunes of the contending parties. The suppliant Vandals, who had so lately indulged the vices of conquerors, sought an humble refuge in the sanctuary of the church; while the merchants of the East were delivered from the deepest dungeon of the palace by their affrighted keeper, who implored the protection of his captives, and shewed them, through an aperture in the wall, the sails of the Roman fleer After their separation from the army, the naval commanders had proceeded with slow caution along the coast, till they reached the Hermann promontory, and obtained the first intelligence of the victory of Belisarius. Faithful to his instructions, they would have cast anchor about twenty miles from Carthage, if the more skilful seamen had not represented the perils of the shore, and the signs of an impending tempest. Still ignorant of the revolution, they declined, however, the rash attempt of forcing the chain of the port; and the adjacent harbour and suburb of Mandracium were insulted only by the rapine of a private officer who disobeyed and deserted his leaders. But the imperial fleet, advancing with

a fair wind, steered through the narrow entrance CHAP. of the Goletta, and occupied in the deep and capacious lake of Tunis, a secure station about five miles from the capital.' No sooner was Bellsarius informed of their arrival, thun he desputched orders that the greatest part of the mariners should be immediately landed to join the triumph. and to swell the apparent numbers of the Romans. Before he allowed them to enter the gates of Carthage, he exhorted them, in a discourse worthy of himself and the occasion, not to disgrace the glory of their arms; and to remember that the Vandals had been the tyrants, but that they were the deliverers of the Africans, who must now be respected as the voluntary and affectionate subjects of their common sovereign. The Romans murched through the streets in close ranks. prepared for battle if an enemy had appeared; the strict order maintained by the general, imprinted on their minds the duty of obedience; and in an age in which custom and impunity almost sanctified the abuse of conquest, the genius of one man repressed the passions of a victorious army. The voice of menace and complaint was silent; the trade of Carthage was not interrupted; while Africa changed her master and her govern-

⁵ The amphicurhood of Curthage, the ise, the cand, and the rivers, are changed almost ar much so the works of man. The fethrane, exneck, of the city is new confounded with the confinent; the harmon is entry plain; and the bale, he suggests, no more than a more e, with six or seven feet water to the milt-chemmit - See of Austlin, (Geograplace Augusture, tome ill., p. 871; Show, (Tenvels, p. 77484); Married, Description de l'Afrique, non. il, p. 6055, unit Thurste, Cotti, 48, tims. (if, p. 334)

MEE

CHAP, ment, the shops continued open and bosy; and the soldiers, after sufficient guards had been pasted. modestly departed to the houses which were allotted for their reception. Belisgrius fixed his residence in the palice; scated himself on the throne of Genseric; accepted and distributed the barbaric spoil; granted their lives to the suppliant Vandals; and inhoused to repair the damage which the suburb of Manifracium had westained in the preceding night. At supper he entertained his principal officers with the form and magnificence of a royal banquet." The victor was respectfully served by the captive officers of the household; and in the moments of festivity, when the impartial spectators applicaded the foctone and merit of Belisaries, his environflatterers secretly shed their venom on every word and gesture which might plarm the suspicions of a jealous monarch. One day was given to these pompous scenes, which may not be despised as useless, if they attracted the popular veneration; but the serive mind of Belisarius, which in the pride of victory could suppose a defeat, had already resolved, that the Roman empire in Africa should not depend on the chance of arms, or the favour of the people. The fortifications of Carthage had alone been exempted from the general prescription: but in the reign of ninety-free years they were suffered to decay by the thoughtiess

[·] Press Dalphi, the same of Delphinum was given, 60th in faces will found to a triplet r and, by an easy auxiogy, the same appoillation was extended at Rome, Constraint spire, and Carthage, to the regal hanqueting rooms (Pencopius, Vanist L is to The Damangro forms there p 777. gazzan at Aleman p. 417).

CHAR

XLL

und indolent Vandals. A wiser compactor restored with incredible despatch the walls and ditches of the city. His liberality encouraged the workmen; the soldiers, the mariners, and the citizens, yied with each other in the salutary labour ; and Gelimer, who had feared to trust his person in an open town, beheld with astonishment and despair the rising strength of an impregnable fortress.

That unfortunate monarch, after the loss of his Food decapital, applied himself to collect the remains of Calling an army scattered, rather than destroyed, by the and the preceding battle; and the hopes of pillage at- A. D. 133. tracted some Moorish hands to the standard of Cor. Gelimer. He encomped in the fields of Balla, four days journey from Carthage; insulted the capital, which he deprived of the use of an aqueduct; proposed an high reward for the head of every Roman; affected to spare the persons and property of his African subjects, and secretly negotiated with the Arian sectories and the confederate Huna. Under these circumstances, the commest of Sardinia served only to aggravate his distress; he reflected with the deepest anguish, that he had wanted, in that useless enterprise, five thousand of his bravest troops ; and he read, with grief and shame, the victorious letters of his largther Zano, who expressed a sanguine confidence that the king, after the example of their ancestors, had already chastised the rashness of the Roman invader. " Alas' my brother," replied Gelimer, " Henvon has declared against our un-" Imppy nation. While you have subfined Sur-

CHAP. "dinis, we have lost Africa. No sooner did " Belisarius appear with a handful of soldiers, " than courage and prosperity deserted the cause " of the Vandals. Your nephew Gibamund, your " brother Ammatas, have been betrayed to death " by the cowardice of their followers. Our " horses, our ships, Carthage itself, and all Afri-" ca, are in the power of the enemy. Yet " the Vandals still prefer an ignominious repose, at the expence of their wives and children, " their wealth and liberty. Nothing now remains, except the field of Bulla, and the hope " of your valour. Abandon Sardinia; fly to our "relief; restore our empire, or perish by our " side." On the receipt of this epistle, Zano imparted his grief to the principal Vandala; but the intelligence was prudently concealed from the natives of the island. The troops embarked in one hundred and twenty galleys at the port of Cagliari, cast anchor the third day on the confines of Mauritania, and hastily pursued their march to join the royal standard in the camp of Bulla. Mournful was the interview: the two brothers embraced; they wept in silence; no questions were asked of the Sardinian victory; no inquiries were made of the African misfortunes; they saw before their eyes the whole extent of their calamities, and the absence of their wives and children afforded a melancholy proof, that either death or captivity had been their lot. The languid spirit of the Vandals was at length awakened and united by the entreaties of their king, the example of Zano, and the instant

danger which threatened their monarchy and re- CHAP. ligion. The military strength of the nation advanced to battle; and such was the rapid increase, that, before their army reached Tricameron, about twenty miles from Carthage, they might boast, perhaps with some exaggeration, that they surpassed, in a tenfold proportion, the diminutive powers of the Romans. But these powers were under the command of Belisarius; and, as he was conscious of their superior merit, he permitted the barbarians to surprise him at an unseasonable hour. The Romans were instantly under arms: a rivulet covered their front; the cuvalry formed the first line, which Belisacius supported in the centre, at the head of five hundred guards; the infantry, at some distance, was posted in the second line; and the vigilance of the general watched the separate station and ambiguous faith of the Massagetre, who secretly reserved their aid for the conquerors. The historian has inserted, and the reader may easily supply. the speeches" of the commanders, who, by arguments the most apposite to their situation, inculcuted the importance of victory, and the contempt of life. Zano, with the troops which had followed bim to the conquest of Sardinia, was placed in the centre; and the throne of Genserie might have stood, if the multitude of Vandals had imitated their intropid resolution. Casting nway their lances and missile weapons, they draw

^{*} These continue always expense the sense of the times, and sometimes of the action. I have supplement that argue, and thepen away decliemitten.

CHAP, their swords, and expected the charge: the Roman cavalry thrice passed the rivulets they were thrice repulsed; and the conflict was firmly maintained, till Zano fell, and the standard of Bellsarius was displayed. Gelliner retreated to his camp; the Huns joined the pursuit; and the victors despoiled the bodies of the slain. Yet no more than fifty Romans, and eight hundred Vandals, were found on the field of battle; so inconsiderable was the carnage of a day, which extinguished a nation, and transferred the empire of Africa. In the evening, Belisarins led his infantry to the attack of the camp; and the pasillanimous flight of Gelimer exposed the vanity of his recent declarations, that, to the vanquished, death was a relief; like a burden, and infinny the only object of terror. His departure was secret; but as soon as the Vandals discovered that their king had deserted them, they hastily dispersed. anxious only for their personal safety, and careless of every object that is dear or valuable to mankind. The Romans entered the camp without resistance; and the wildest scenes of disorderwere veiled in the darkness and confusion of the night. Every harbarian who met their swords was inhumanly massacred; their widows and daughters, as rich heirs, or beautiful concubines, were embraced by the licentious soldiers; and avarice itself was almost satisfed with the treasures of gold. and silver, the accumulated fruits of conquest or economy in a long period of prosperity and peace. In this frontic search, the troops, even of Belisarins, forgot their caution and respect. Intoxicated with lust and rapine, they explored in CHAP. small parties, or alone, the adjacent fields, the Nt. woods, the rocks, and the caverus, that might possibly concent any desirable prize : laden with booty, they deserted their ranks, and wandered, without a guide, on the high road to Carthage; and if the flying enemies had dared to return, very few of the compuerors would have escaped. Deeply sensible of the disgrace and danger, Belisarius passed an apprehensive night in the field of victory; at the dawn of day, he planted his standard on a hill, regalled his guards and vaterans, and gradually restored the modesty and obedience of the camp. It was equally the concern of the Roman general to subdue the lioutile, and to save the prostrate barbarian; and the suppliant Vandals, who could be found only inchurches, were protected by his authority, disarmed, and separately confined, that they might neither disturb the public peace; nor become the victims of popular revenge. After despatching a light detachment to trend the footsteps of Gelimer, he advanced with his whole army, about ten days march, as for as Happo Region, which no longer possessed the relies of St. Augusting

^{2.} The radius of \$1. Augustin recoverage of the African School for their Santinian water, IA, D. 5000; and it was believed to the with Century, that Laupeant, king of the Landands, transported them A. D. 721; Hom Southeast to Paris. In the year 1000, the Augustin felians of that city found a brick needs starting coffin, offers carry with supplies bound blinds fire, and probable as the public of a policy in Gothic lermes. But this useful discovery has been disjuint by regard and justiney, (Secondary, Annali, A. D. 725, No. 2-8. This much

XLL

CHAR. The season, and the certain intelligence that the Vandal had fled to the inaccessible country of the Moors, determined Belisurius to relinquish the vain pursuit, and to fix his winter-quarters at Carthage. From thence he despatched his principal lieutenant, to inform the emperor, that in the space of three months he had achieved the conquest of Africa.

Conguest of Africa by Belina rius. A. D. 534

Belisarius spoke the language of truth. The surviving Vandals yielded; without resistance, their arms and their freedom: the neighbourhood of Carthage submitted to his presence; and the more distant provinces were successively subdued by the report of his victory. Tripoli was confirmed in her voluntary allegiance; Sardinia and Corsica surrendered to an officer, who carried, instead of a sword, the head of the valuant Zuno; and the isles of Majorca, Minorca, and Yvien, consented to remain an humble appendage of the African kingdom. Caesarea, a royal city, which in looser geography may be confounded with the modern Algiers, was situate thirty days march to the westward of Carthage : by land, the road was infested by the Moors; but the sea was open, and the Romans were now masters of the sea-An active and discreet tribune sailed as far as the Straits, where he occupied Septem or Ceuta,'

Mem. Erelen ton, 2111, p. 344. Months on, Date or Ind. p. 55-50. Muraturi, Antiq. Ital. Manit Mei, tom v. dietert, beill, p. 9. whichad emposed a separate treatine before the degree of the bishop of Faring and Pope Remodier XIII).

[&]quot; Le was motormer wyoners, in the expression of Promphile, (ile Edille. le ri, et 7). Conta, which bus been distanted by the Contemporary dominability polities

which rises opposite to Gibraltar on the African CHAP. coast; that remote place was afterwards adorned XLL and fortified by Justinian; and he seems to have indulged the vain ambition of extending his empire to the columns of Hercules. He received the messengers of victory at the time when he was preparing to publish the pandects of the Roman law; and the devout or jealous emperer celebrated the divine goodness, and confessed, in silence, the merit of his successful general." Impatient to abolish the temporal and spiritual tyranny of the Vandula, he proceeded, without delay, to the full establishment of the catholic church. Her jurisdiction, wealth, and immunities, perhaps the most essential part of episcopal religion, were restored and amplified with a liberal hand; the Arian worship was suppressed; the Donatist meetings were prescribed? and the synod of Carthage, by the voice of two hundred and seventeen bishops,' applauded the just measure of pleas retaliation. On such an occasion, it may not be presumed, that many

nobles and pulsees, in agriculture and manufactures, under the more prosperous reign of the Arabs, O'African de Marmel, same R. p. 2305.

[.] See the second and third prombles to the Dignet, or Paradects. promulgated A. D. 305, Documber 15. To the units of Fernishees and Africama, Spatteins, or renter Bellimiting find negotral a just claim | Gathiers was permuture, and Franciers Calse, and officially to

a great sation. " See the neighbol acts in Becoming, Co. D. 555, No. 21-54]. The empreer appleants the sum stressing to the besties, can unfictat eie sirem.

[&]quot; Dupin (Geograph: Succe Afritana, p. 102, ad Open, Miles, y exserves and bersails this opincopal decay. In the more prespectors age of the course, be had united 000 bishopstor; but however minute were the electronic, it is not probable that they all related at the same time.

cuars orthodox prelates were absent; but the comparative smallness of their number, which in meient councils had been twice or even thrice multiplied. most clearly indicates the docay both of the church and state. While Justinian approved himself the defender of the faith, he entertained an ambitious hope, that his victorious ligutenant would speedily enlarge the narrow limits of his dominion to the space which they occupied before the invesion of the Moors and Vandals; and Belisarius was fortructed to establish five dickes or communders in the convenient stations of Tripoli, Laptis, Cirta, Casarea, and Sardinia, and to compute the military force of palatines or lunderers that might be sufficient for the defence of Africa. The kingdom of the Vandals was not unworthy of the presence of a pretorian prefect; and four consulars, three presidents, were appointed to administer the seven provinces under his civil inrisdiction. The number of their subordinate officers, clerks, messengers, or assistants, was mimusly expressed; three hundred and ninety-six for the prefect himself, fifty for each of his vicegerents; and the rigid definition of their fees and salaries was more effectual to confirm the right, than to prevent the cluise. These magistrates might be oppre-sive, but they were not idle; and the subtle questions of justice and revenue were infinitely propagated under the new government, which professed to revive the freedom and equity of the Roman republic. The conqueror was solicitous to exact a prompt and plentiful supply from his

African subjects; and he allowed them to claim, CHAE even in the third degree, and from the collatoral line, the houses and lands of which their families had been unjustly despoiled by the Vandals. After the departure of Belisarius, who neted by an high and special commission, no ordinary provision was made for a master-general of the farces; but the office of pretoring prefect was intrusted to a addies; the civil and military powers were united. according to the practice of Justinian, in the chief governor; and the representative of the emperor in Africa, as well as industry, was soundistinguished by the appellation of Exarcia.

Yet the compact of Africa was imperfect, till Dones her former awareign was delivered, either alive my a or dead, into the hands of the Romans. Doubtful A.D. 304 of the event, Gelimer had given secret orders that -the a part of his treasure should be transported to Spain, where he hoped to find a secure refuge at the court of the king of the Visigoths. But these latentions were disappointed by accident. treachery, and the indefatigable pursuit of his enemies, who intercepted his flight from the seashore, and chased the unfortunate monarch, with some faithful followers, to the inaccessible mountain of Papua," in the inland country of Numidia.

nnek annel

^{*} The Atomic laws of Jaintalin are illustrated by his German time grapher, Cod E.s. tit. 27. Nevell St. 27, 121. Vn. Justines, o. 514-STTS

[.] Manuel Papers to placed by d'Auville (1986 all, p. 72, and Tabul. lings flow. Occidental more Hippor Region and the period that eithtries in agrees with the long putnick beyond Hipper, and the words of Principles, (L.H. v. 4), or enq Nacolog (rywro).

CHAP. He was immediately besieged by Pharas, an officer whose truth and sobriety were the more applauded, as such qualities could seldom be found among the Heruli, the most corrupt of the barbarian tribes. To his vigilance Belisarius had intrusted this important charge; and, after a bold attempt to scale the mountain, in which he lost an hundred and ten soldiers, Pharas expected, during a winter siege, the operation of distress and famine on the mind of the Vandal king. From the softest habits of pleasure, from the unbounded command of industry and wealth, he was reduced to share the poverty of the Moors," supportable only to themselves by their ignorance of a happier condition. In their rude hovels, of must and hurdles, which confined the smoke and excluded the light, they promiscuously slept on the ground, perhaps on a sheep-skin, with their wives, their children, and their cattle. Sordid and scanty were their garments; the use of bread and wine was unknown; and their outen or barley cakes, imperfectly baked in the ashes, were devoured almost in a crude state by the hungry savages. The health of Gelimer must have sunk under these strange and unwonted hardships, from whatsoever cause they had been endured; but his actual misery was embittered by the recollection of past greatness, the daily insolence of his protectors, and the just apprehension, that the

follow (Texto a, p. 270) must mountainly replained the manners of the Bellevices and Subject the fire of a home by they describe. are the comment of the Moorks yet how changed—how cruticed are these maders saveyed -- provisions has painty among them, and board is common.

light and venal Moors might be tempted to betray CHAP. the rights of hospitality. The knowledge of his XIL situation dictated the humane and friendly epistle of Phuras, " Like yourself," said the chief of the Herali, " I am an illiterate barbarian, but "I speak the language of plain sense, and an " honest heart. Why will you persist in hopeless " obstinacy? Why will you ruin yourself, your a family, and nation? The love of freedom and "abhorrence of slavery? Alas! my dearest Geli-" mer, are you not already the worst of slaves. " the slave of the vile nation of the Moors? Would it not be preferable to sustain at Con-" stantinople a life of poverty and servitude ra-- ther than to reign the undoubted monarch of "the mountain of Papua? Do you think it a " disgrace to be the subject of Justinian? Beli-" sarius is his subject; and we ourselves, whose " birth is not inferior to your own, are not " ashamed of our obedience to the Roman em-" peror. That generous prince will grant you a " rich inheritance of lands, a place in the senate, " and the dignity of patrician : such are his " gracious intentions, and you may depend with " full assurance on the word of Belisarius. So "long as heaven has condemned us to suffer, " patience is a virtue; but if we reject the prof-" fered deliverance, it degenerates into blind and " stupid despair." " I am not insensible," replied the king of the Vandals, " how kind and " rational is your advice. But I cannot persuade " myzelf to become the slave of an unjust enemy, " who has deserved my implacable hatred. Him

XLL.

" I land never injured either by word or deed; " yet he has sent against me, I know not from " whence, a certain Belisarius, who has cast me " bendlong from the throne into this abyss of mi-" sery. Justinian is a man; he is a prince; doe he " not dread for himself a similar reverse of for-" time? I can write no more: my gricf oppresses " me. Send me. I beseech von, my dear Pharas. send me, a lyre, a spunge, and a loaf of bread." From the Vandal messenger, Pharus was informed of the motives of this singular request. It was long since the king of Africa had insted bread; a defluxion had fallen on his eyes, the effect of fatigue or incessant weeping; and he wished to solace the melancholy hours by singing to the lyre the and story of his own misfortunes. The humanity of Pharas was moved; he sent the three extraordinary gift; but even his humanity prompted him to redouble the vigilance of his guard, that he might sooner compel his prisoner to embrace a resolution advantageous to the Romans, but salutary to himself. The obstinacy of Celimer at length yielded to reason and necessity; the solemu assurances of safety and honourable treatment were ratified in the emperor's name, by the umbassador of Belourius; and the king of the Vandals descended from the mountain. The first public interview was in one of the suburbs of Carthage, and when the royal captive accosted his

A By Promptus it is any lot a larger partiage here would have been been hardward. The incommunities of minite and these distinguished by Vennettes Auromateurs—

Residence on the State of States of

conqueror, he harst into a fit of laughter. The CHAS. crowd might naturally believe, that extreme grief had deprived Gelimer of his senses; but in this mournful state, unseasonable mirth insinuated to more intelligent observers, that the vain and transitory scenes of human greatness are unworthy of a serious thought."

Their contempt was soon justified by a new Returned example of a vulgar truth; that flattery adheres members, to power, and envy to superior merit. The chiefs A.D. 534, of the Roman army presumed to think themselves the rivals of an hero. Their private despatches maliciously affirmed, that the conqueror of Africa, strong in his reputation and the public love, conspired to seat himself on the throne of the Vandals. Justinian listened with too patient an ear; and his silence was the result of jealousy rather than of confidence. An honourable alternative, of remaining in the province, or of returning to the capital, was indeed submitted to the discretion of Belisurius; but he wisely concluded, from intercepted letters, and the knowledge of his sovereign's temper, that he must either resign his head, erect his standard, or confound his enemies by his presence and submission. Innocence and courage decided his choice; his guards, captives, and treasures, were diligently embarked; and so prosperous was the navigation, that his arrival at

h Harodonia elegantly districts stor strange billions of griaf in another royal caption, Parametichus of Egypt, who were at the Issuer, and was affect at the greaters of his entereities, (L. iii, c. 14). In the interview of Punity Abrillus and Perms, Bellewiter might study his party but it is probable that he owner count either Livy or Pintarch : and it is curring that his generosity did not need a turn.

Sta-

Constantinople preceded any certain account of his departure from the port of Carthage. Such unsuspecting loyalty removed the apprehensions of Justinian: envy was silenced and inflamed by the public gratitude; and the third Africanus obtained the honours of a triumph, a ceremony which the city of Constantinople had never seen, and which ancient Rome, since the reign of Tiberius, had reserved for the guerricious arms of the Casurs! From the palace of Bellourius, the procession was conducted through the principal streets to the hippodrome; and this memorable day seemed to avenge the injuries of Genseric, and to explate the shame of the Romans. The wealth of nations was displayed, the trophies of martial or effeminate luxury; rich armour, golden thrones, and the chariots of state which had been used by the Vandal queen; the massy furniture of the royal banquet, the splendour of precious stones, the elegant forms of statues and vases, the more substantial treasure of gold, and the holy vessels of the Jewish temple, which, after their long peregrination, were respectfully deposited in the Christian church of Jerusalem. A long train of the noblest Vandals reluctivity exposed their lofty storure and manly counter name. Gelimer slowly advanced; he was clad in a purple robe, and still maintained the majesty of a king. Not a tear escaped from his eyes, not a sigh was heard; but his pride or

After the title of improving that his the sid military straw, and the Roman autology was shouldness by Christianity, see I a Risterie, Rism of TAcademie, from set, p. 362-3185, a tilinoph might be given with his incommittee; to a private general.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

piety derived some secret consolution from the CHAP. words of Solomon, which he repeatedly pronounced, VANITY VANITY ALL IS VANITY! Instead of ascending a triumphal car drawn by four horses or elephants, the modest conqueror marched on foot at the head of his brave companions; his prudence might decline an honour too conspicuous for a subject: and his magnanimity might justly disdain what had been so often sullied by the vilest of tyrants. The glorious procession entered the gate of the hippodrome; was saluted by the acciamations of the senate and people; and halted before the throne where Justinian and Theodora were seated to receive the homage of the captive monarch and the victorious hero. They both performed the customary adoration; and falling prostrate on the ground, respectfully touched the footstool of a prince who had not unsheathed his sword, and of a prostitute who had danced on the theatre; some gentle violence was used to bend the stubborn spirit of the grandson of Genseric; and however trained to servitude, the genius of Bellsarius must have secretly rebelled. He was immediately declared his wir consul for the ensuing year, and the day of his in- A.D. 335. auguration resembled the pump of a second tri- January L. umph: his curule chair was borne aloft on the

A ff the Ecclosimits be truly a work of Solomon, and ma, like Prior's poem, a piece and most composition of more recent times, in life name, and on the subject of his repostance. The latter is the spinion of the learned and freespicited Granica, (Opp. Thering sent. to pu \$281; and indeed the Ecclesianter and Proverte display a larger compans of thought and supersonce then some to belong either to a Jew or a king.

XLL

shoulders of captive Vandais; and the spoils of war, gold cups, and rich girdles, were profusely scattered among the populare.

End of Gelitter and the Van-

But the purest reward of Belisarius was in the faithful execution of a treaty for which his honour had been pledged to the king of the Vundals. The religious scruples of Gelimer, who adhered to the Arian beresy, were incompatible with the dignity of senator or patrician; but he received from the emperor an ample estate in the province of Galatin, where the abdicated monarch retired with his family and friends, to a life of peace, of affinence, and perhaps of content. The daughters of Hilderic were entertained with the respectful tenderness due to their age and misfortune; and Justinian and Theodora accepted the honour of educating and enriching the female descendants of the great Theodosius. The bravest of the Vandai youth were distributed into five squadrons of mavalry, which adopted the name of their benefictor, and supported in the Persian wars the glary of their ancestors. But these rare exceptions, the reward of birth or valour, are insufficient to explain the fate of a nation, whose numbers, before a short and bloodless war amounted to more than six hundred. thousand persons. After the exile of their king and nobles, the servile crowd might purchase their safety, by abjuring their character, religion, and

In the Believier of Marament, the ting and the conquerty of those most, up, and mayorer, without conflicting room offer. It is emily a fault of that yourseles, that not only the horse but all to where he this look so compromisely to wear appear to here were their type of their success.

language; and their degenerate posterity would marbe insensibly mingled with the common herd of African subjects. Yet even in the present age, and in the heart of the Moorish tribes, a curious traveller has discovered the white complexion and long flaxen hair of a northern race;" and it was formerly believed, that the boldest of the Vandals tied beyond the power, or even the knowledge, of the Bomans, to enjoy their solitary treedom on the shores of the Atlantic ocean." Africa had been their empire, it became their prison; nor could they entertain an hope, or even a wish, of returning to the banks of the Elbe, where their brethren, of a spirit less adventurous, still wandered in their native forests. It was impossible for cowards to surmount the barriers of unknown seas and hostile barbarians; it was impossible for brave men to expose their nakodness and defeat before the eyes of their countrymen, to describe the kingdoms which they had lost, and to chain a share of the humble inheritance, which, in a happier hour, they had almost unanimously renounced.* In the country between the Elbe and

Starr, p. 39. Yet since Promptine (i. ii.) 170 speaks of a people of compact Atlan, in circuly distinguished by willin bodies and yellow hair, the phenomenon in bade is likeways widtle to the Andrew Peris, Barties, time it, p. 3645 since maturally be assumed to the electron of the gradual and the trusparation of the gradual and the trusparation of the gradual.

The companion of Maximus 0, 10, n. n., p. 189, 139, 131; Paris, 1688), confiber the Manchania Goldman, (opposite to Camp, who game Vennidirum, a Reference devicts in Africa, legil, of secondary continuous.

^{*} A single vaper and preterror, and General distinct, with at a town answer, the Vertals of Germany 1 and those of Africa decided this produce, and affected to despite the powery of time terrors, (Procepus, Vendal, 1 i. o. 17).

CHAP, the Oder, several populous villages of Launtia are inhabited by the Vandals: they still preserve their language, their customs, and the purity of their blood; support, with some impatience, the Suxon, or Prussian yoke; and serve with secret and voluntary allegiance, the descendant of their uncient kings, who in his garb and present fortime is confounded with the meanest of his vassals. The name and situation of this unhappy people might indicate their descent from one common stock with the compresses of Africa. But the use of a Sclavonian dialect more clearly represents them as the last remnant of the new colonies, who succeeded to the gemine Vandals, already scattered or destroyed in the age of Procopings

Magners and Select of the Minute.

If Belisarius had been tempted to besitate in his allegiance, he might have urged, even against the A. D. 23a. emperor himself, the indispensable duty of saving Africa from an enemy more barbarous than the Vandaba. The origin of the Moors is involved in darkness; they were ignorant of the use of letters." Their limits cannot be precisely de-

⁷ From the results of the great elector, tin 1687), Tolling describes. the speece togethy and reladitions spirit of the Vendals of Brandene burgh, who would minutes five or six thomasus middless who had prescared some ramage, &c. Olimetry, Hangar, p. 42, april Dalos, Hist. de la Momentia Penngolse, top. 1. p. 182, 1834. The senselly, less of the elector, but of Tallins bittimally may justly be suspected.

[&]quot; Procession O. J. S. 221 was in head derivation—the sense on the course to take out from . Harder, this suign of Dagstart, CA, D. 6305, the Schrennian triber of the Sorbi and Venedi already busined on Thuringle, (Masson, Hist of the Germans, 24, 3, 4, 5).

[&]quot; ballout represents the Moore as a remutat of the ermy of Heparies, (de Bell, Jugarth, p. 21), and Prompius (Vanial I. ii, c. 10)

fined: a boundless continent was open to the Char-Libyan shepherds; the change of seasons and Mill pastures regulated their motions; and their rude huts and slender furniture were transported with the same case as their srms, their families. and their cattle, which consisted of sheep, oxen, and camels.' During the vigour of the Roman power, they observed a respectful distance from Cartlage and the sea-shore; under the feelile reign of the Vandals, they invaded the cities of Numidia, occupied the sea-coast from Tangier to Casarin, and pitched their comps, with impunity, in the fertile province of Byzacium. The formidable strength and artful conduct of Belisarius secured the neutrality of the Moorish princes, whose vanity aspired to receive, in the emperor's name, the ensigns of their regal digmity. They were astoneshed by the rapid event, and trembled in the presence of their conqueror. But his approaching departure som relieved the apprehensions of a savage and superstitions people; the number of their wives allowed them to disregard the safety of their infant hostages; and when the Roman general hoisted sail in

as the proteinty of the Communication for front the solder Indiana, (Const). He quotes these estimates, with a Physician inscription. I believe in the color from I don't the inscription—and I reject the policies.

Virgit, Clearpe, St., 530), and Pompenius Meiz, O. S., describe
the enudering life of the African displaces, similar to that of the
furthe and Testary; and First (p. 227) is the less communicator on

the past and the group spher-

[•] The eminimity gifts were a scriptor, a crosses or cap, a white which a figured timic and about, all ad mode with gold out effects and were their preclaim sectals has acceptable up the shape of side, (Procept Vandal, b. c. #5).

XII.

CHAP, the port of Carthage, he heard the cries, and almost beheld the fiames, of the desolated province. Yet be persisted in his resolution; and leaving only a part of his guards to reinforce the feeble garrisons, he intrusted the command of Africa to the cumuch Solomon," who proved himself not unworthy to be the successor of Belisarius. In the first invasion, some detachments, with two officers of merit, were surprised and intercepted; but Solomon speedily assembled his troops, marched from Carthage into the heart of the country, and in two great battles destroyed sixty thousand of the barbarians. The Moors depended on their multitude, their swiftness, and their inaccessible mountains; and the aspect and smell of their camels are said to have produced same confusion in the Roman cavalry." But as soon as they were commanded to dismount, they derided this contemptible obstucle: as soon as the columns ascended the hills, the miked and disorderly crowd was dazaled by glittering arms and regular evolutions; and the menace of their female prophets was repeatedly fulfilled, that the Moors should be

⁺ See the African government and warfare of Solomon, in Precoposts, (Varietal 1, it; e. 10, 11, 12, 13, 10, 20). He was recalled, and again restored; and his last varory fister in the milith year of Justitrium, (A. D. 200). An accident in his cirlldhood had combined him on emmely, or i, a. Her the other Roman generals were amply fugationed with builds, wayour crossman it is a se

[&]quot; This corneal autipathy of the house for the causel, is afficient by the ancienti, (Xemophini Cyropest, I. vi. p. 45m; I. vii. p. 480, 402, celli. Burattinann. Polyma Sienisgem vii, 6. Plin Hint Nat. viii. 24. Armen de Natur. Animal. J. Hill c. D : but it is disproyed, by daily experience, and decided by the best parters, the Crimitals, (Voyage Polisation, p. 553).

discomitted by a beardless antagonist. The victo- CHAP. rious canuch advanced thirteen days journey from NLL Carthago, to besiege mount Aurusius, the citadei. and at the same time the garden, of Numidia. That range of hills, a branch of the great Atlas. contains within a circumference of one bundred and twenty miles, a rare variety of soil and climate; the intermediate valleys and elevated plains abound with rich pastures, perpetual streams, and fruits of a delicious taste and uncommon magnitude. This fair solitude is decorated with the ruins of Lambesa, a Roman city, once the seat of a legion, and the residence of forty thousand inhabitants. The Ionic truvele of Esculapius is encompassed with Moorish buts; and the cuttle now graze in the midst of un amphitheatre, under the shade of Corinthian columns. A sharp perpendicular rock rises above the level of the mountain, where the African princes deposited their wives and treasure; and a proverb is familiar to the Arabs, that the man may cat fire, who dares to attack the cruggy clifts and inhespitable natives of mount Aurusius. This hardy enterprise was twice attempted by the cunuch Solomon; from the first, he retreated with some disgrace; and in the second, his patience and provisions were almost exhausted; and he must again have retired; if he had not yielded to the impetatous courage of his troops, who audaciously scaled, to the astonishment of the Moors, the

F Process is the fest who densities mount Attention, (Vandal, I the city. Do willie him a Th. He may be compared with Less Africano, (dell'Africa, poste v. la Rabensto, toma i, ink ff, recto), Marmel, Hum. it, j. 490), and Shaw, (p. 56-40).

EMAP.

mountain, the hostile camp, and the summit of the Geminian rock. A citadel was erected to seeme this important conquest, and to remind the burbarians of their defeat: and as Solomon pursued his march to the west, the long-lost province of Mauritanian Sitiff was again annexed to the Roman empire. The Moorish war continued several yearsafter the departure of Belisarius; but the laurels which he resigned to a faithful lieutenant, may be justly ascribed to his own triumph.

Neutrality of the Vitigothe.

The experience of past faults, which may sometimes correct the mature age of an individual, is soldom profitable to the successive generations of mankind. The nations of antiquity, careless of each other's safety, were separately vanquished and enslaved by the Romans. This awful lesson might have instructed the barbarians of the West to oppose, with timely counsels and confederate arms, the unbounded ambition of Justinian. Yet the same error was repeated, the same consequences were felt, and the Goths, both of Italy and Spain, insensible of their approaching danger, beheld with indifference, and even with joy, the rapid downfal of the Vandals. After the failure of the royal line, Theudes, a valuant and powerful chief, ascended the throne of Spain, which he had formerly administered in the name of Theodoric, and his infant grandson. Under his command, the Visigoths besieged the fortress of Ceutaon the African coast : but, while they spent the sabbath-day in peace and devotion, the pious security of their camp was invaded by a sally from the town; and

the king himself, with some difficulty and danger, CHAP. escaped from the hands of a sacrifegious enemy. It was not long before his pride and rescutment were gratified by a supplicant embassy from the unfortunate Gelimer, who implored, in his distress, the aid of the Spanish monarch. But instead of sacrificing these unworthy passions to the dictates of generosity and prudence, Theudes amused the ambassadors, till he was secretly informed of the loss of Carthage, and then dismissed them with obscure and contemptuous advice, to seek in their native country a true knowledge of the state of the Vandajs. The long continuance cosquests of the Italian war delayed the punishment of the Bound Visigoths; and the eyes of Theudes were closed in Spanie, D. 550before they tasted the fruits of his mistaken pa- sio. liev. After his death, the sceptre of Spain was disputed by a civil war. The weaker candidate solicited the protection of Justinian; and ambitionsly subscribed a treaty of alliance, which deoply wounded the independence and happiness of his country. Several cities, both on the ocean and the Mediterranean, were ceded to the Roman troops, who afterwards refused to evacuate those pledges, as it should seem, either of safety or payment; and as they were fortified by perpetual supplies from Africa, they maintained their impregnable stations; for the mischievons purpose of inflaming the civil and religious factions of the bar-

S habbe Chron, p. 722, cells. Grot. Murtana, Hust. Hopan, L.v. a. S. p. 173. Vet according to labour, the maps of Collis, and the death of Thursday, hogyment, A. M. H. Mill, A. D. 548; and the place was defended, but by the Vanctats, but by the Remain.

^{*} Principlus, Vandal & i. c. 74

MLC

CHAP. barians. Seventy years clapsed before this painful thern could be extirpated from the bosom of the monarchy; and as long as the emperors retained any share of these remote and useless possessions, their vanity might number Spain in the list of their provinces, and the successors of Alarie in the rank of their vassals,

Beligging Threatens the Course motive of Tinly. A. D. 634

The error of the Goths who reigned in Italy. was less exemple than that of their Spanish brethren, and their punishment was still more immediate and terrible. From a motive of private revenge, they enabled their most dangerous enemy to destroy their most valuable ally. A sister of the great Theodoric had been given in marriage to Thrasimond the African king: on this occasion, the fortress of Lilyberom* in Sicily was resigned to the Vandals; and the princess Amalafrida was attended by a martial train of one thousand nobles, and five thousand Gothic soldiers, who signalized their valour in the Moorish wars. Their merit was over-rated by themselves, and perhaps neglected by the Vandals; they viewed the country with envy, and the conquerors with disdain; but their real or fictitious conspiracy was prevented

⁵ New the original Chromers of Ladors, and the will and with books of the Phones of Spain by Mariana. The Hommes were finally expelled by Subnille king of the Vielgotte, (A. D. 621-626), after their receive to the cultook character.

⁵ See the sturrings and (see of Amstafride in Processing (Vantal, Lis. c. S. D., and in Casuedorius, (Var. va. I), the expendition of has toyal brether. Compare Baswise the Chronicle of Victor Tane STATISTICS.

[&]quot; Lity hours nest built by the Carthagomera, Higgs are, \$1 and in the first Punis war, a crown situation, and excellent barbour, butdired that plans an Impertant object to both nature.

by a massacre; the Goths were oppressed, and the CHAP. captivity of Amalafrida was soon followed by her XLL secret and suspicions death. The eloquent perof Cassiodorius was employed to reproach the Vandal court with the cruel violation of every social and public duty; but the vengeance which he threatened in the name of his sovereign, might be derided with impunity, as long as Afries was protected by the sen, and the Goths were destitute of a navy. In the blind impotence of grinf and indiguation, they joyfully saluted the approach of the Romans, entertained the fleet of Belianrius in the ports of Sinily. and were speedity delighted or slarmed by the surprising intelligence, that their revenge was executed beyond the measure of their hopes, or perhaps of their wishes. To their friendship the emperor was indebted for the kingdom of Africa, and the Goths might reasonably think, that they were entitled to resume the possession of a larren rock, so recently reparated as a auptial gift from the island of Sicily. They were soon undeceived by the haughty mundate of Belisarius, which excited their tardy and unavailing repentance.- "The city and promontory of Lilyhamm," said the Roman general, " belonged to the Van-" dals, and I claim them by the right of conquest. Your submission may deserve the fa-" your of the emperor; your obstinacy will pro-" voke his displeasure, and must kindle a war, " that can terminate only in your atter rain. If " you compel us to take up arms, we shall con-" tend, not to regain the possession of a single city,

CHAP.

"but to deprive you of all the provinces which "you unjustly withhold from their lawful sovereign." A nation of two hundred thousand soldiers might have smiled at the vain menace of Justinian and his lieutenant; but a spirit of discord and disaffection prevailed in Italy, and the Goths supported, with reluctance, the indignity of a female reign."

Gevernment and death of Amalaanntha, appen of Italy, A. D. 572-XIA

The birth of Amalasonthu, the regent and queen of Italy, united the two most illustrious families of the barbarians. Her mother, the sister of Clovis, was descended from the long-haired kings of the Meroringian race; and the regal succession of the Amali was illustrated in the eleventh generation, by her father, the great Theodorie, whose merit might have ennobled a plebeinn origin. The sex of his daughter excluded her from the Gothic throne; but his vigilant tenderness for his family and his people discovered the Instheir of the royal line, whose ancestors hud taken refuge in Spain; and the fortunate Eutharic was suddenly exalted to the rank of a consul and a prince. He enjoyed only a short time the charms of Amalasontha, and the hopes of the succession; and his widow, after the death of her husband

Comparator different passages of Preserves, (Vandat. 1, 11, c. 3, Gothic, I. 1, c. 7).

^{*}Provides and character of Amalganiths, as Provides, (Gothir, L. I. C. V. R. A. and Amaidot, c. 10, with the Paper of Amagements Canadalogue, (Var. viii, in. v., and at. I), and Journal of the Helm Getters, c. 59, and De Successions Registering, in Murutasi, ton. I. p. 241).

⁶ The correct of Theodore with American, Mr. wher of Christ, may be placed in the year 49%, over after the compress of Parit, (de Bant. Hirt. des Peuples, rom. 11, p. 213). The amphiel of Kurraire and American Mr. were evolutioned in \$15, (Composite, in Christ. p. 423).

and father, was left the guardian of her son Atha- CHAP. laric, and the kingdom of Italy. At the age of XLL about twenty-eight years, the endowments of her mind and person had attained their perfect maturity. Her beauty, which, in the apprehension of Theodora herself, might have disputed the conquest of an emperor, was arimated by manly sense, activity, and resolution. Education and experience had cultivated her talents; her philosophic studies were exempt from vanity; and, though she expressed herself with equal elegance and ease in the Greek, the Latin, and the Gothic tongue, the daughter of Theodoric maintained in her counsels a discreet and impenetrable silence. By a faithful imitation of the virtues, she revived the prosperity of his reign: while she strove, with pious care, to expiate the faults, and to obliterate the darker memory of his declining age. The children of Boethius and Symmuchus were restored to their paternal inheritance; her extreme lenity never consented to inflict any corporal or pecuniary penalties on her Roman subjects; and she generously despised the clamours of the Goths, who, at the end of forty years, still considered the people of Italy as their slaves or their enemies. Her salutary measures were directed by the wisdom, and celebrated by the eloquence, of Cassiodorius; she solicited and deserved the friendship of the empezor; and the kingdams of Europe respected, both in peace and war, the majesty of the Gothic throne. But the future happiness of the queen and of Italy depended on the education of her son, who was destined, by his birth, to support the different and

SLI.

almost incompatible characters of the chief of a legitarian camp, and the first magnitude of a civillized nation. From the age of ten years," Athelaric was diligently instructed in the arts and sciences, either useful or ornamental for a Roman prince; and three venerable Goths were chosen to instil the principles of honour and virtue into the mind of their young king. But the pupil who is insensible of the benefits, must abhor the restraints of education; and the solicitude of the queen, which affection rendered anxious and severe, offended the untractable nature of her son and his subjects. On a solemn festival, when the Goths were assembled in the pulice of Ravenna, the royal youth escaped from his mother's aparament, and, with team of paide and anger, complained of a blow which his stubbern disobedience had provoked her to inflict. The barbarians resented the indignity which had been offered to their king; accused the regent of conspiring against his life and crown; and imperiously demanded, that the grandson of Theodoric should be rescued from the dustardly discipline of wamen and polants, and educated, like a valiant Coth, in the society of his equals, and the glorious ignorance of his ancestors. To this rade clamour, importunately urged as the voice of the nation, Amalesootha was compelled to yield her reason, and the dearest wishes of her beart. The king of Italy.

As the death of Thereforie, his granders Atheleus is described by Four-plan to a key obtain eight years old-mark types inc. Carticolation, with methodity and cruston, adds the years to his ago-information with december.

was abandoned to wine, to women, and to rustic CHAP. sports; and the infiscreet contempt of the ungrateful youth, betrayed the mischievous designs of his favourites and her enemies. Encompassed with domestic foes, she entered into a secret negotiation with the emperor Justinian; obtained the assurance of a friendly reception, and had actually deposited at Dyrachium in Epirus, a treasure of forty thousand pounds of gold. Happy would it have been for her fame and safety, if she had calmly retired from barbarous faction, to the peace and splendour of Constantinople. But the mind of Amaiasantha was inflamed by ambition and revenger and while her ships lay at anchor in the port, she waited for the success of a crime which her passions excused or applauded as an act of justice. Three of the most dangerous malecontents had been separately removed, under the protence of trust and command, to the frontiers of Italy: they were assessinated by her private emissuries; and the blood of these noble Goths rendered the queen-mother absolute in the court of Ravenna, and justly odious to a free people. But if she had lamented the disorders of her son, she soon wept his irreparable loss; and the death of Athalarie, who, at the age of sixteen, was consumed by premature intemperance, left her destitute of my firm support or legal authority. Instead of submitting to the laws of her country, which held as a fundamental maxim, that the succession could never pass from the lunce to the distail, the daughter of Theodoric conceived the impracticable design of sharing, with one of her cousins, the regal title, and of re-VOL. VII.

MIL discussion.

CHAP, serving in her own hands the substance of supreme power. He received the proposal with profound respect and affected gratitude; and the eloquent Cassiodorius announced to the scente and the emperor, that Amalasontha and Theodatus had ascended the throng of Italy. His birth (for his mother was the sister of Theodoric) might be considered as an imperfect title; and the choice of Amplesontha was more strongly directed by her contempt of his avarier and custillaminity, which had deprived him of the love of the Italians, and the esteem of the barbarians. But Theodatus was exasperated by the contempt which he deserved; her justice had repressed and reproached the oppression which he exercised against his Tuscan neighhours, and the principal Goths, united by common guilt and resentment, conspired to instigate his slow and timid disposition. The letters of congratulation were scarcely despatched before the queen of Italy was imprisoned in a small island of the lake of Bolsons, where, after a short confinement, she was strangled in the buth, by the order, or with the connivance, of the new king, who instructed his turbulent subjects to shed the blood of their sovereigns.

the exite and douth. A D. Asia Speciality.

P. Santana director. and mile street Steel-

Justinian beheld with joy the dissensions of the Coths; and the mediation of an ally concented and

The lake, from the neighbouring towns of Emerge was styled tibles Vollisienes (new of Edward or Tarquiniers). It is not remaind with whose works, and should with his and wild town. The younger Play (Epist. H, 06) colchestes was would belonds that found in its waters; if a false, low credition the melectal-II a but, borrowders the posternal Yel since Play, the afind may have been fixed by one and gradual amornio-

promoted the ambitious views of the conqueror. CHAP-His ambassadors, in their public audience, de-XLL manded the fortress of Lilybaum, ten barbarian A.D. 225. fugitives, and a just compensation for the pillage Der. 31. of a small town on the Illyrian borders; but they secretly negotiated with Theodatus, to betray the province of Tuscany, and tempted Amalusontha to extricate berself from danger and perplexity, by a free surrender of the kingdom of Italy. A false and servile epistle was subscribed by the re-Instant hand of the captive queen; but the confession of the Roman senators, who were sent to Constantinople, revealed the truth of her deplorable situation; and Justinian, by the voice of a new ambassador, most powerfully interceded for her life and liberty. Yet the secret instructions of the same minister were adapted to serve the cruel jealousy of Theodora, who dreaded the presence and superior charms of a rival: he prompted, with artful and ambiguous hints, the execution of a crime so useful to the Romans: received the intelligence of her death with grief and indignation, and denounced, in his master's name, immortal war against the perfidious assassin. In Italy, as well as in Africa, the guilt of an usurper appeared to justify the arms of Justinian; but the forces which he prepared, were insufficient for the subversion of a mighty kingdom, if their feeble

Yet Procepins discredits his own withings, (Assessed to 16), by confiniting that in his public blattery he had not quotien the truth. Yes the Epistims from Quam Gundstine to the coupeus Thenders, (Vara. 10, 21, 22, and observe a comprises word, do illa personal, &c.). twith the eleberate Commentary of Bust, from 2, p. 177-183).

Sint.

numbers had not been multiplied by the name. the spirit, and the conduct of an hero. A chosen troop of guards, who served on horselack, and were armed with lances and bucklers, attended the person of Belisarius: his cavalry was composed of two hundred Huns, three hundred Moors, and four thousand confederates, and the infantry consisted only of three thousand Ishurinns. Stearing the same course as in his former expedition, the Roman consul cast anchor before Catama in Sicily, to survey the strength of the island, and to decide whether he should attempt the conquest, or peaceuldy pursue his voyage for the African roast. He found a fruitful land and a friendly people. Notwithstanding the decay of agriculture. Sicily still supplied the granaries of Rome; the farmers were graciously exempted from the oppression of military quarters; and the Goths, who trusted the defence of the island to the inhabitants, had some reason to complain, that their confidence was augratefully betrayed: instead of soliciting and expecting the aid of the king of Italy, they yielded to the first summons a cheerful obedience: and this province. the first fruits of the Punic wars, was again, after a long separation, united to the Roman empire." The Gothic garrison of Palerma, which alone attempted to resist, was reduced, after a doort siege, by a singular stratagem. Belliarius introduced his

I for the empired of Sigly, compare the mountles of Proceptuwine the completens of Today, (Gothie, I. I. e. 5 ; I. III, c. 19). The could queen had later resigned that thunkling follows, (Note 12, 11).

thips into the deepest recess of the harbour; their CHAP. boats were laboriously boisted with ropes and pullevs to the top-must head, and he filled them with archers, who, from that superior station, commanded the ramparts of the city. After this easy, though successful campaign, the conqueror entered Syracuse in triumph, at the head of his victorious hands, distributing gold medals to the people, on the day which so gloriously terminated the year of the consulship. He passed the winter senson in the palace of ancient kings, umidst the rains of a Greeiun colony, which once extended to a circumference of two and twenty miles :" but in the spring, about the festival of Easter, the prosecution of his designs was interrupted by a dangerous revolt of the African forces. Carthage was saved by the presence of Belisarius, who suddenly landed with a thousand guards. Two thousand soldiers of doubtful faith returned to the standard of their old commander; and he marched, without hesitation, above fifty miles, to seek an enemy, whom he affected to pity and despise. Eight thousand rebels trembled at his approach; they were routed at the first onset. by the dexterity of their masters and this ignobie victory would have restored the peace of Africa, if the conqueror had not been hastify recalled to Sieily, to appease a sedition which was kindled

[&]quot;The arginit imaginitate and optendeur of the five quiriers of Sysamus, are defined by Crano, (in Verren, attails, b. 17, c. 62, 40); thesis, (b. 17, p. 413), and d'Orrille Sicula, them it, p. 171-162. The me city, restored by Augustus, shrunk newards the island.

XLL.

CHAP. during his absence in his own caum." Desorder and disobedience were the common malady of the times: the genius to command, and the virtue to obey, resided only in the mind of Belisarius.

Reign and wentkness of Thondistres, One Ciethic Africa WE Innly .. A. D. 134. Getober-A. D. SSE, Angust.

Although Theodatus descended from a race of heroes, he was ignorant of the art, and averse to the dangers, of war. Although he had studied the writings of Plato and Tully, philosophy was incapable of purifying his mind from the basest passions, avarice and fear. He had purchased a sceptre by ingratitude and murder; of the first menace of an enemy, he degraded his own majesty, and that of a nation, which already disdained their unworthy sovereign. Astonished by the recent example of Gelimer, he saw himself dragged in chains through the streets of Constantinople: the terrors which Belisarius inspired, were heightened by the eloquence of Peter, the Byzantine ambassador; and that hold and subtle advocate persuaded him to sign a treaty, too ignominious to become the foundation of a lasting peace. It was stipulated, that in the acclamations of the Roman people, the name of the emperor should be always proclaimed before that of the Gothic king; and that as often as the statue of Theodains was creeted in brass or marble, the divine image of Justinian should be placed on its right hand. Instead of conferring, the king of Italy was reduced to solicit,

^{*} Protopius (Vontal 2 ii, c. 14, 15) as clearly relater the return of Bellember into Sicily, op. 148, chir. Resenters, that I am sutomitted at the strongs muspowheneith and reproaches of a Jesting exists, (Occurres de la Motter la Vayer, torn, ville pe lair, 183).

the honours of the senate; and the consent of CHAP. the emperor was made indispensable before he could execute, against a priest or senator, the sentence either of death or confiscation. The feeble monarch resigned the possession of Sicily; offered, as the annual mark of his dependence, a crown of gold, of the weight of three lumified pounds; and promised to supply, at the requisition of his sovereign, three thousand Gothic auxiliaries for the service of the empire. Satisfied with these extraordinary concessions, the successful agent of Justinian Justened his jourmey to Constantinople; but no sooner had bereached the Allian villa," than he was recalled by the anxiety of Theodatus; and the dialogue which passed between the king and the ambussador, deserves to be represented in its original simplicity.- " Are you of opinion that the cin-" peror will ratify this trenty? Perhaps. If he " refuses, what consequence will enoug? War, " Will such a war be just or reasonable? Most " assuredly; every one should not according to his " character. What is your menning? You are a " philosopher - Justinian is emperor of the Ro-" mans: it would ill become the disciple of Plato " to shad the blood of thousands in his private quar " rel: the suscessor of Augustus should vindicate his " rights, and recover by arms the ancient provinces " of his empire." This remoning might not cou-

^{*} The amount Alba was rained in the sort age of Rosse. On the still age; of at least in the intightbourhood, successively arms, i. The villa of Pamper, &c. Z. A comp of the pretarion orders. Z. The productive photopial any of Albanus or Albana, (Process, Goth. I. L. y. & Claver, Ital. Auflig. four. n. p. 814).

CHAP, vince, but it was sufficient to slarm and subdue the weakness of Theodatus; and he soon descended to his last offer, that for the poor equivalent of a pension of forty-eight thousand pounds sterling, he would resign the kingdom of the Goths and Italians, and spend the remainder of his days in the innocent pleasures of philosophy and agriculture. Both treaties were intrusted to the hands of the ambassador, on the fruil security of an oath not to produce the second till the first had been positively rejected. The eventmay be easily foreseen; Justinian required and accepted the abdication of the Gothic king. His indefatigable agent returned from Constantinople to Ravenna, with ample instructions; and a fair epistle, which praised the wisdom and generosity of the royal philosopher, granted his pension, with the assurance of such honours, as a subject and a catholic might enjoy; and wisely referred the final execution of the treaty, to the presence and authority of Belisarius. But in the interval of suspense, two Roman generals, who had entered the province of Dalmatia, were defeated and plain by the Gothic troops. From blind and abject despair. Theodatus capriciously rese to groundless and fatal presumption," and dared to receive, with menace and contempt, the ambassador of Justinian; who claimed his promise, solicited the allegiance of his subjects, and hold-

^{*} A Sthythest must was runity to promission. Aftick copts wands sum mile purisity a sentrace of portentous aminguity. (Gothic, L. i. c. I), which has been published in unknown characters by Opsopous, an emiss of the stacks. The Pers Mattert has premised a commentary; but all his promises have been thin and fraitless.

ly asserted the inviolable privilege of his own CHAP. character. The murch of Belisarius dispelled this Xtal. visionary pride; and as the first compaigns was employed in the reduction of Sicily, the invasion of Italy is applied by Procopius to the second year of the Cornic WARS

After Beliagius had left sufficient garrisons in Beliagius Palermo and Syracuse, he embarked his troops at hair, and Messing, and landed them, without resistance, on rolues the opposite shores of Rhegium. A Gothic prince, A. D. 257. who had married the daughter of Theodatus, was stationed with an army to goard the entrance of Italy ; but he imitated, without scruple, the example of a sovereign, faithless to his public and private duties. The perfidious Ebermor deserted with his followers to the Roman camp, and was dismissed to enjoy the servile honours of the Byznutine court. From Rhegium to Naples, the fleet and army of Belisarius, almost always in view of each other, advanced near three hundred miles along the sen-court. The people of Bruttium, Lucania, and Campania, who althorred the name

to his chromology, imitated in some degree from Thurydides, Proruples, begins such spring the years of Juniahus and of the Golder sur t and his gree era committee with the first of April 250, and not 230, er. cording to the Annals of Barming (Page Cett. tom, it, p. 555, who is fallowed by Merutoni and the addies of Signature. Yet Be name your sages we are at a less to promucife the sixtre of Processia with himself. and with the Chronicle of Margallinia.

^{*} The sector of the first Gothic was in supresented by Pyramien. \$5 to a. 3-29; Lill, & 1-39; to me, e. 1), till the suplicity of Vingen-With the aid of Signesius, (Opp. tom. I, de Dup. Condent. Lawell, well), and Monators, (Annall d'Italia, tum v), I have glianed nime few addistant these

[&]quot; Jimmanden, de Rebus Geticis, c. 50, p. 300, edit. Grot., and forn. i. p. 281. Moratore de Surveya Berra p. 281.

cuar, and religion of the Goths, embraced the specious XII. excuse, that their ruined walls were incapable of defence; the soldiers paid a just equivalent for a plentifid market; and enriosity alone interrupted the peaceful occupations of the lusbandman or artificer. Naples, which has swelled to a great and populous capital, long cherished the language and manners of a Grecian colony;" and the choice of Virgil had ennobled this elegant retreat, which attracted the lovers of repose and study, from the noise, the smoke, and the laborious opulence of Rome." As soon as the place was invested by sea and land, Belisarins gave audience to the deputies of the people, who exhorted him to disregard a conquest unworthy of his arms, to seek the Gothic king in a field of buttle, and, after his victory, to claim, as the sovereign of Rome, the allegiance of the dependant cities-" When I treat with my "enemies," replied the Roman chief, with an haughty smile, " I am more accustomed to give "than to receive counsel; but I held in one hand " inevitable ruin, and in the other, peace and " freedom, such as Sicily now enjoys." The impatience of delay urged him to grant the most

^{*} New tarys Toutton, Annal, av., this Newpoints quasi General arhere delegit. One hundred and fifty yours afterwards, so the time of Septimize Severia, the Hellowise of the Nonpolitans is publish by Philosophius r your Eldens are agreen, she are van coulde not deput Champs on, them. L i, p. 763, edit. Ohnn.)-

^{*} The estima of Nuples is praised by the Romes poets, by Virgil, Howard, Sillies Italicum, and Stations, (Cliver, Ital. Ast. i. iv, p. 1140, 1150). In as abgunt epirtle, (Syb. 1 ii), 3, p. 94-98, edit. Marklevel). Station undersates the difficult test of drawing his wife from the pleasures of Rame to that calm retreat.

liberal terms; his bonour secured their perform- CHAP. ance ; but Nuples was divided into two factions; and the Greek democracy was inflamed by their orators, who, with much spirit and some truth. represented to the multitude, that the Gotha would punish their defection, and that Belisarius himself must esteem their loyalty and valour. Their deliberations, however, were not perfectly free: the city was commanded by eight hundred burbarians, whose wives and children were detuined at Ravenna as the plage of their fidelity; and even the Jews, who were rich and numerous, resisted, with desperate enthusiasm, the intolerant laws of Justinian. In a much later period, the circumference of Naples* measured only two thousand three hundred and sixty-three paces: the fortifications were defended by precipices or the sea; when the aqueducts were intercepted, a supply of water might be drawn from wells and fountains; and the stock of provisions was sufficient to consume the patience of the besiegers. At the end of twenty days, that of Beliunius was almost exhausted, and he had reconciled himself to the disgrace of abandoning the singe, that he might murch, before the winter. segron, against Rome and the Gothic king. But.

V Not present Stall but a reason, purpose of maps, of \$7 Preside inches, (C'Anville, Mennes Innerman, p. 7, 8); the 2363 do not mile in English mile.

^{*} This persons was taken by Regar L after the compact of Napley. (A. D. 1130), which he made the capital of his new kingdom, (Glan-Same, Interis Civille, com. II. p. 1006. That Say, the third in Christian. Energy, is now at front twelve units to communicement, Only Chairs, Omesil Hist Nampel L L p. 17), and another more inhabitants canboom in a given space, than any other spell in the known world.

CHAP. his anxiety was relieved by the hold curiosity of an Isaurian, who explored the dry channel of an aqueduct, and secretly reported, that a passage might be perforated to introduce a file of armed soldiers into the heart of the city. When the work had been silently executed, the humane general risked the discovery of his secret, by a last and fruitles admonition of the impending danger. In the darkness of the night, four hundred Romans entered the aqueduct, raised themselves by a rope, which they fastened to an olive tree, into the house or garden of a solitary mutron, sounded their trumpets, surprised the sentinels, and gave admittance to their companions, who, on all sides, scaled the walls, and burst open the gates of the city. Every crime which is punished by social justice, was practised as the rights of war; the Huns were distinguished by cruelty and sacrilege, and Belisarius alone appeared in the streets and churches of Naples, to moderate the calamities which he predicted. " The " gold and silver," he repeatedly exclaimed, " are " the just rewards of your valour. But spare " the inhabitants, they are Christians, they are " suppliants, they are now your fellow-subjects. " Restore the children to their parents, the wives "to their husbands; and shew them by your " generosity, of what friends they have olisti-" nately deprived themselves." The city was saved by the virtue and authority of its conqueror,"

^{*} Belliatins was reproved by Pope Sylveries for the managers. He repended Naples, and imported colonies of African represents Socily. Calabeir,

and when the Neapolitans returned to their CHAP. houses, they found some consolation in the se- XLL cret enjoyment of their hidden treasures. The barbarian garrison inlisted in the service of the emperor; Apulia and Calabria, delivered from the odious presence of the Goths, acknowledged his dominion; and the tusks of the Calydonian boar, which were still shown at Beneventum, are curiously described by the historian of Belisarius."

The faithful soldiers and citizens of Naples Vinges, king of had expected their deliverance from a prince, taly, who remained the inactive and almost indifferent A. D. 235, spectator of their ruin. Theodatus secured his & D. Sto. person within the walls of Rome, while his covalry advanced forty miles on the Appian way, and encumped in the Pomptine marshes; which, by a canal of nineteen miles in length, had been recently drained and converted into excellent pastures. But the principal forces of the Goths were dispersed in Dalmatia, Venetia, and Gaul; and the feeble mind of their king was confounded by the unsuccessful event of a divination, which

Calabria, and Agalia, ciliat. Miseril, L. sol, in Moratort, term 4, p. 100,

[.] Benevation was bally by Directo, the upper of Meleager, (Chroscitum, 5, p. 1165, 1106). The Calpionian hunt is a pirrun of terrigo life, (Orest, Manuscript, Louis, Thirty or firsty honors were hingurd against a bog t the brutes (not the hog) quarrellist with a larly for the best.

[&]quot; The Decementaries is strangely continueded by Chiverina (time it, g. 1007) with the more Wilm . It was in truly a case of emelors makes, from Forem Appil to Terracing, an which thereo embarked in the eight. The Decemention which is prentioned by Luczo, Dion Causing and Carpedorne, too here sometimity reined, referred, as a abiterated, /d'Amelia, Amelian de l'Italia, p. 183, 67.3

XLL XLL

seemed to presage the downfal of his empire." The most abject slaves have arraigned the guilt, or weakness, of an unfortunate master. The character of Theedatus was rigorously scrutinized by a free and iffle camp of barbarians, conscious of their privilege and power; he was declored unworthy of his race, his nation, and his throne; and their general, Vitiges, whose valour had been singulized in the Illyrian war, was raised, with unanimous upplause, on the bucklers of his companions. On the first rumour, the abdicated monarch fied from the justice of his country; but he was pursued by private revenge. A Goth whom he had injured in his love, overtook Theodatus on the Flaminian way, and, regardless of his mumanly cries, slaughtered him, as he lay prostrate on the ground, like a victim (says the historian) at the foot of the altar. The choice of the people is the best and purest title to reign over them : yet such is the prejudice of every age, that Vitiges populariently wished to return to Ravenus, where he might seize, with the reluctant hand of the daughter of Amalasontha, some faint shadow of hereditary right. A national council was immediately held, and the new monarch reconciled the impatient spirit of the barbarians, to: a measure of disgrace, which the misconduct of his predecessors rendered wise and indispensable.

[&]quot;A Jew gratified his consumpt and harred for our the Christians, by bulleting three bonds, such of ten large, and desciminated by the raines of Chrise, Greeks, and Rospins. Of the first, about all were found final—almost all the spound were alree—of the third, half died, and the seat that their tension. No manufacto unblem of the event

The Goths consented to retreat in the presence CHAP. of a victorious enemy; to delay till the next NLL spring the operations of offensive war; to summon their scattered forces; to relinquish their distant possessions, and to trust even Rome itself to the faith of its inhabitants. Leuderis, an aged warrior, was left in the capital with four thousand soldiers; a feeble garrison, which might have seconded the zeal, though it was incapable of onposing the wishes, of the Romans. But a momentary enthusiasm of religion and patriotism was kindled in their minds. They furiously exclaimed, that the apostolic throne should no longer he profuned by the triumph or toleration of Arianism; that the tombs of the Cæsars should no longer be trampled by the savages of the North; and, without reflecting that Italy must sink into a province of Constantinople, they fondly bailed the restoration of a Roman emperor as a new era of freedom and prosperity. The deputies of the pope and clergy, of the senate and people, invited the lieutenant of Justinian to accept their voluntary allegiance, and to enter the city, whose gutes would be thrown open for his reception. As soon as Belisarius had fortified his new conquests, Naples and Cume, he advanced about twenty miles to the banks of the Vulturnus, contemplated the decayed grandeur of Capua, and halted at the separation of the Latin and Appian ways. The work of the censor, after the incessant use of nine centuries, still preserved its primeval beauty, and not a flaw could be discovered in the large polished stones, of which that

CHAP.

Believilla

entere

A. D. 526.

Dec. 10.

solid, though narrow road, was so firmly compacted. Belisarius, however, preferred the Latin way, which, at a distance from the sea and the marshes, skirted, in a space of one hundred and twenty miles, along the foot of the mountains. His enemies had disappeared: when he made his entrance through the Asinarian gate, the garrison departed without molestation along the Flaminian way; and the city, after sixty years servitude, was delivered from the yoke of the barburians. Leuderis alone, from a motive of pride or discontent, refused to accompany the fugitives; and the Gothic chief, himself a trophy of the victory, was sent with the keys of Rome to the throne of the emperor Justinian.

Same of Bome by the Gaths, A. D. 837, March.

The first days, which coincided with the old Saturnalia, were devoted to matual congratulation and the public joy; and the catholics prepared to celebrate, without a rival, the approaching festival of the nativity of Christ. In the familiar conversation of a hero, the Romans acquired some notion of the virtues which history ascribed to their ancestors; they were edified by the apparent respect of Belisarius for the successor of St. Peter,

Dergier (Hist. des Grands Chemien des Bornelles, ten. 1, p. 221-225, 110-414) excitate the structure and materiale, while d'Anville (Analyse A'Teste, p. 500-215) defines in grantaphical line.

[•] Of the Rest recovery of Rome, the year \$500 is contain, from the error of events, rather than from the contest, or a trapeleted, test of Procepouse the month (Directibet) is a contrained by Ringtine, it is, a 18% and the day title restly may be admitted on the slight extilance of Nicepheseus Callistine, (i. 37% c. 13). For this areas is throughout to the diligness and judgment of Posts (term it, p. 555, 200).

and his rigid discipline secured, in the midst of CHAP. war, the blessings of tranquillity and justice. XLL They applauded the rapid success of his arms. which over-ran the adjacent country, as far as Narai, Perusia, and Spoleto: but they trembled, the senate, the clergy, and the unwarlike people. as soon as they understood that he bad resolved, and would speedily be reduced, to sustain a siege against the powers of the Gothic monarchy. The designs of Vitiges were executed, during the winter-senson, with diligence and effect. From their rustic habitations, from their distant. garrisons, the Goths assembled at Ravenna for the defence of their country; and such were their numbers, that after an army had been detached for the relief of Dalmatia, one hundred and fifty thousand fighting men marched under the royal standard. According to the degrees of rank or merit, the Gothic king distributed arms and horses, rich gifts, and liberal promises; he moved along the Flaminian way, declined the useless steges of Perusia and Spoleto, respected the impregnable rock of Narnt, and arrived within two miles of Rome, at the foot of the Milvian bridge. The narrow passage was fortified with a tower, and Belliarius had computed the value of the twenty days, which must be lost in the construction of another bridge. But the consternation of the soldiers of the tower, who either fled or deserted, disappointed his hopes, and betrayed his person into the most imminent danger. At the head of one thousand horse, the Roman general sallied from the Flaminian gate to mark the ground

XIII -----

CHAP, of an advantageous position, and to survey the camp of the barbarians; but while he still beheved them on the other side of the Tiber, he was suddenly encompassed and assaulted by their ionumerable squadrons. The fate of Italy depended on his life; and the deserters pointed to the compicuous horse, a bay, with a white face, which he rode on that memorable day, " Aim at " the hay home," was the universal cry. Every how was bent, every Javelin was directed, against that fatal object, and the command was repeated and obeyed by thousands who were ignorant of its real motive. The holder barbarians advanced to the more benourable combat of swords and spears; and the praise of an enemy has graced the fall of Visandon, the standard-bearer," who naintained his foremost station, till he was pierced with thirteen wounds, perhaps by the hand of Belisarrus himself. The Roman general was strong, notive, and dexterous : on every side he discharged his weighty and mortal strokes: his faithful guards imitated his valour. and defended his person; and the Goths, after the loss of a thousand men, fled before the arms of an hero. They were rashly pursued

^{*} An home of a bay or red colour was styled games by the Greeks, helm by the hornariam, and quarts by the Romans. Househi spadier-, sors Virgil, disorge, h. dr. 77, with the observations of Martin and Hayer's Bredgier less, alguides a branch of the imbastion, whose raint; Seed, is symmetrious to red, (Auto) Gallion, if, ship

[#] I interpret beind over, not as a proper name, but us office, standand bearer, from scriebes, (craillein), a but have word adopted by the Germa and Romana, (Paul Diacon 1 is a 20, p. 76th Great November Cothin, p. 253. Incomps, Gloss Latin torm 1, 3, 339, 140).

to their camp; and the Romans, oppressed CHAP. by multitudes, made a gradual, and at length NLL a precipitate, retreat to the gates of the city : the gates were shut against the fugitives; and the public terror was increased, by the report that Belisarius was slain. His countenance was indeed disfigured by sweat, dust, and blood; his voice was hourse, his strength was almost exhausted; but his unconquerable spirit still remained; he imparted that spirit to his desponding companions; and their last desperate charge was felt by the flying barbarians, as if a new army, vigorous and entire, had been poured from the city. The Flaminian gate was thrown open value of to a real triumph; but it was not before Belisa- Belisarios rius had visited every post, and provided for the public safety, that he could be persuaded by his wife and friends, to taste the needful refreshments of food and sleep. In the more improved . state of the art of war, a general is seldom required, or even permitted, to display the personal prowess of a soldier; and the example of Belisarius may be added to the rare examples of Henry IV, of Pyrrhus, and of Alexander.

After this first and unsuccessful trial of their in the enemies, the whole army of the Goths passed the ferms of Tiber, and formed the siege of the city, which continued above a year, till their final departure. Whatever fancy may conceive, the severe compass of the geographer defines the circumference of Rome within a line of twelve miles and three hundred and forty-five paces; and that circumference, except in the Vatican, has invariably

CHAP- been the same from the triumph of Aurelian to the peaceful but obscure reign of the modern popes. But in the day of her greatness, the space within her walls was crowded with habitations and inhabitants; and the populous suburbs; that stretched along the public roads, were darted like so many rays from one common centre. Adversity swept away these extraneous ornaments, and left naked and desolate a considerable part even of the seven hills. Yet Rome, in its present state, could send into the field above thirty thousand males, of a military age; and, notwithstanding the want of discipline and exercise, the far greater part, inured to the hardships of poverty, might be capable of bearing arms for the defence of their country and religion. The prudence of Belismins did not neglect this important resource. His soldiers were relieved by the zeal and diligence of the people, who watched while they slept, and laboured while they reposed : he accepted the voluntary service of the bravest and most indigent of the Roman youth; and the companies of townsmen sometimes represented, in a vacant post, the presence of the troops which had been drawn away to more essential duties. But

I M. a'Anvolic beneficing in the Mamoirs of the Andemy for the tives \$750, come. a.t.s. pt. 1982-2505, a plan of Humo on a smaller scale, but for more accounts than that which he had delicented in 1738 for Hallon's followy. Experience had improved his knowledges and, itright of Rose's aquigraphy, he used the new and excellent map of Nells. Priny's soft measure of xill must be reduced to vite miles. It is easier to siter a text, thus to remove allie or belillings.

[&]quot;In the year 1709, Labot (Veryages on Bulle, tun- in, p. 218) reck and 138,509 Christian souls, bender for 10,000 Jews-scalow to the year 176th, the numbers exceeded 160,000.

CHAP:

his just confidence was placed in the veterans who had fought under his hanner in the Persian and African wars; and although that gallant band was reduced to five thousand men, he undertook, with such contemptible numbers, to defend a circle of twelve miles, against an army of one hundred and fifty thousand barbarians. In the walls of Rome, which Belisarius constructed or restored, the materials of ancient architecture may be discerned; and the whole fortification was completed, except in a chasm still extent between the Pincian and Flaminian gates, which the prejudices of the Goths and Romans left under the effectual guard of St. Peter the apestle.' The battlements or bastions were shaped in sharp angles; a ditch, broad and deep, protected the foot of the rampart; and the archers on the rumpart were assisted by military engines; the balista, a powerful cross-how, which darted short but massy arrows; the onagri, or wild asses, which, on the principle of a sling, threw stones and bullets of an enormous size. A chain was drawn across the Tiber; the arches of the aqueducts were made impervious, and the mole or

* The accurate eye of Nardini (Room Antica, L. i. c. vill., p. 31) could distinguish the tunniturnia opera di Bellatrio.

The factor and leaning in the upper part of the wall, which Procopins observed, (Goth T. I. c. 13), is visible to the present hour, (Donn. Roms Vetus, J. & v. 17, p. 52, 34).

[&]quot;Lipsius (Opp. turn. III. Poliureet. L iii) was lammit of this clear and conspicuous pursues of Proceptine, (Guth, L. L. et 27). The engine was armed swaper, the wild are, a relationable, (Non-Apple, Thumps Linguis Green tonnich, p. 1940, 1941 r tonn, ill., p. 811). I base seen an ingenious model, committed and executed by General Melville, which militars or surprises the net of antiquery.

SIL.

sepulciare of Hadrian' was converted, for the first time, to the uses of a citadel. That venerable structure, which contained the ashes of the Antonines, was a circular turret rising from a quadrangular basis: it was covered with the white marble of Paros, and decorated by the statues of gods and heroes; and the lover of the arts must read with a righ, that the works of Praxiteles or Lysippus were torn from their lofty pedestals, and hurled into the ditch on the heads of the besiegers." 'To each of his lieutenants, Belisarius assigned the defence of a gate, with the wise and peremptory instruction, that, whatever might be the alarm, they should steadily adhere to their respective posts, and trust their general for the safety of Rome. The formidable host of the Goths was insufficient to embrace the ample measure of the city; of the fourteen gutes, seven only were invested from the Pra-nestine to the Flaminian way; and Vitiges divided his troops into six camps, each of which was fortified with a ditch and rampart. On the Tuscan side of the river, a seventh encampment was formed in the field or circus of the Vatican, for the important purpose of commanding the Milvian bridge

The drampion of this manualeum, or mair, in Proceeding, C. i.
 E.O., or the first and best. The height above the walls explic in large times.
 On Noll's great plan, the sides measure 260 English field.

[•] Projective excelled in Fance, and that of Aibani wer has own mester-piece. Bonce has containe shows thirty of the same character. When the direct of St. Angeln was riemend ander Urban VIII, the mechanic found ine stroping Fance of the Barbertot palace: but a log, a triple, and the right arm, had been broken from that be satisful scatter, (Worthelman, Blist, or VAII, tom. II, p. 52, 53; tom. III, p. 263).

and the course of the Tiber; but they approach. CHAP. ed with devotion the adjacent church of St. XLL Peter: and the threshold of the holy aposties was respected during the siege by a Christian enemy. In the ages of victory, as often as the senate decreed some distant conquest, the consul denounced bostilities, by unharring, in solemn pomp, the gates of the temple of Janua? Domestic war now rendered the admonition superfluous, and the ceremony was superseded by the establishment of a new religion. But the brazen temple of Jamus was left standing in the forum; of a size sufficient only to contain the statue of the god, five cubits in height, of a human form, but with two faces, directed to the east and west. The double gates were likewise of brass; and a fruitless effort to turn them on their rusty hinges, revealed the scandalous secret, that some Romans were still attached to the superstition of their uncestors.

Fighteen days were employed by the besiegers, Repulses to provide all the instruments of attack which antiquity had invented. Fascines were prepared to the Consfill the ditches, scaling-ladders to ascend the walls. The largest trees of the forest supplied the timbers of four battering-rams; their heads were armed with iron; they were suspended by ropes, and each of them was worked by the labour of fifty men. The lofty wooden turrets moved on wheels or

[·] Procession has given the fast description of the temple of James, s untimal detty of Linius, (Heyne, Phrum, v. ad i, vii. Encidy. It was one a gate in the primitive city of Ramolus and Numa, (Nardina, p. 17, 206, 229). Virgit has district the majorit site, like a got and an entirement

CHAP, rollers, and formed a spacious platform of the level of the rampart. On the morning of the nineteenth day, a general attack was made from the Prænestine gate to the Vatican : seven Gothic columns, with their military engines, advanced to the assault; and the Romans who lined the ramparts, listened with doubt and anxiety to the cheerful assurances of their commander, As soon as the enmoy approached the ditch, Belisarius himself drew the first arrow; and such was his strength and dexterity, that he transfixed the foremost of the barbarian leaders. A shout of applause and victory was re-echoed along the wall. He drew a second arrow, and the stroke was followed with the same success and the same acclamation. The Roman general then gave the word, that the archers should aim at the teams of oxon; they were instantly covered with mortal wounds; the towers which they drew, remained useless and immoveable, and a single moment disconcerted the laborious projects of the king of the Goths. After this disappointment, Vitiges still continued, or feigned to continue, the assault of the Salarian gate, that he might divert the attention of his adversary, while his principal forces more streamously attacked the Prenestine gate and the sepulchre of Hadrian, at the distance of three miles from each other. Near the former. the double walls of the Vivorium were low or broken; the fortifications of the latter were feebly

A Ferreign was an angle in the new wall, included for wild incur-(Procuping, Gath, L.L. E. Ells. The spot is still woulde in November 1). iv, c. ft. p. 730, 160) and Natif's great plan of Bome.

guarded: the vigour of the Goths was excited cuar.

by the hope of victory and spoil; and if a single Nt.t. post had given way, the Romans, and Rome ittelf, were irrecoverably lost. This perilous day was the most glorious in the life of Belisnrius. Amidst tumult and dismay, the whole plan of the attack and defence was distinctly present to his mind; he observed the changes of each instant, weighed every possible advantage, transported his person to the scenes of danger, and communicated his spirit in calm and decisive orders. The contest was fiercely maintained from the morning to the evening; the Goths were repulsed on all sides, and each Roman might boast, that he had vanquished thirty burburians, if the strange disproportion of numbers were not counterhalanced by the merit of one man. Thirty thou and Goths, according to the confession of their own chiefs, perished in this bloody action: and the multitude of the wounded was equal to that of the slain. When they advanced to the assault, their close disorder suffered not a javelin to fall without effect; and as they retired, the populace of the city joined the pursuit, and shughtered, with impunity, the backs of their flying enemies. Belisurius instantly sullied from the gates; We some and while the soldiers channed his name and victory, the hostile engines of war were reduced to ashes. Such was the loss and consternation of the Goths, that, from this day, the siege of Rome degenerated into a tedious and indolent blockade; and they were incessantly harassed by the Roman general, who, in frequent skirmishes, destroyed

SLL

CHAP. above five thousand of their bravest troops. Their cavalry was unpractised in the use of the how; their archers served on foot; and this divided force was incapable of contending with their adversaries, whose lances and arrows, at a distance, or at hand, were alike formidable. The consummate skill of Belisarius embraced the favourable opportunities: and as he chose the ground and the moment, as he pressed the charge, or sounded the retreat," the squadrous which he detached were seldom unsuccessful. These partial advantages diffused an impatient ardour among the soldiers and people, who began to feel the hardships of a siege, and to disregard the dangers of a general engagement. Each plebeinn conceived himself to be an hero, and the infantry, who, since the decay of discipline, were rejected from the line of battle, aspired to the ancient honours of the Roman legion. Belisarius praised the spirit of his troops, condemned their presumption, yielded to their clamours, and prepared the remedies of a defeat, the possibility of which he alone had courage to suspect. In the quarter of the Vatican, the Romans prevailed; and if the irreparable moments had not been wasted in the pillage of the camp, they might have occupied the Milvian bridge, and charged in the rear of the Gothic host. On the other side of the Ti-

[·] For the Roman trumpet and its various soften commit Lipston. de Militia Bontana, (Opp. tom. lit. 1. ivs. Dining. z. p. 125-127). A mode of distinguishing the clarge by the accommunity of wild ferry, and the rareas by the foot-trumper of leather and light wood, was tocummended by Procopins, and adopted by Belivarius, (Gath. 1. H. C. 735

ber, Belisarius advanced from the Pincian and GHAR. Salarian gates. But his army, four thousand soldiers perhaps, was lost in a spacious plain; they were encompassed and oppressed by fresh multitudes, who continually relieved the broken ranks of the barbarians. The valiant leaders of the inflictry were unskilled to conquery they illed: the retreat (an hasty retreat) was covered by the prudence of the general, and the victors started back with affright from the formidable aspect of an armed rampart. The reputation of Belisarius was unsullied by a defeat; and the vain confidence of the Goths was not less serviceable to his designs, than the repentance and modesty of the Roman troops.

From the moment that Belisarius had de- Distres of the city. termined to sustain a siege, his assiduous care provided Rome against the danger of famine, more dreadful than the Gothic arms. An extraordinary supply of corn was imported from Sicily: the Imreests of Campunia and Towany were forcibly swept for the use of the city: and the rights of private property were infringed by the strong plen of the public safety. It might easily be foreseen that the enemy would intercept the squeducts; and the cessation of the water-mills was the first inconvenience, which was speedily removed by mooring large vessels, and fixing mill-stones in the current of the river. The stream was soon embarrassed by the trunks of trees, and polluted with dead bodies; yet so effectual were the precautions of the Roman general, that the waters of the Ti-

CHAP, ber still continued to give motion to the mills and drink to the inhabitants; the more distant quarters were supplied from domestic wells; and a besieged city might support, without impatience, the privation of her public baths. A large portion of Rome, from the Prenestine gate to the church of St. Paul, was never invested by the Goths; their excursions were restrained by the activity of the Moorish troops; the navigation of the Tiber, and the Latin, Appian, and Ostian ways, were left free and unmolested for the introduction of corn and cattle, or the retreat of the inhabitants, who sought a refuge in Campania or Sicily. Anxious to relieve himself from an useless and devouring multitude, Belisarius issued his peremptory orders for the instant departure of the women, the children, and the slaves; required his soldiers to dismiss their male and female attendauts; and regulated their allowance, that one moiety should be given in provisions, and the other in money. His foresight was justified by the increase of the public distress, as soon as the Goths had occupied two important posts in the neighbourhood of Rome. By the loss of the port, or, as it is now called, the city of Porto, he was deprived of the country on the right of the Tiber. and the best communication with the sea; and he reflected with grief and onger, that three hundred men, could be have spared such a feeble band, might have defended its impregnable works. Seven miles from the capital, between the Appinn and the Latin ways, two principal aqueducts, crossing, and again crossing each other, inclosed within their solid and lofty arches a for- CHAP. tified space, where Vitiges established a cump XLL of seven thousand Goths to intercept the convoys of Sicily and Campania. The granaries of Rome were insensibly exhausted, the adjacent country had been wasted with fire and sword; such sonnty supplies as might yet be obtained by hasty excursions, were the reward of valour, and the purchase of wealth: the forage of the horses, and the bread of the soldiers, never failed; but in the last months of the siege, the people were exposed to the miseries of searcity, unwholesome food, and contagious disorders. Belisarius saw and pitied their sufferings; but be had foreseen, and he watched the sleeay of their loyalty, and the progress of their discontent. Adversity had awakened the Romans from the dreams of grandcur and freedom, and taught them the humilinting lesson, that it was of small moment to their real happiness, whether the name of their muster was derived from the Gothic or the Latin language. The lieutenant of Justinian listened to their just complaints, but he rejected with disdain the idea of flight or capitulation; repressed their

[•] Promptos (Gath, L. i., e. Ci has larged to came them aqued at our energy secretarial from the writing of such a distance from Home, be easily secretarial from the writings of Frontians Farsetti and Exchinard, de Aquis and de Aquis Homano, or from the local magnetization and Compelant. Server or eight roles from the city, (10 staffic), on the read to Albaya, between the Larie and Appen ways, I amort the remonns of an equalist, (probably the Segminian), a more the powers of arrives twenty-five feet high, (1-) are respect.

^{*} They main sureages, as hereas of mills of the translationers, of the minrole had died of the plugue. Otherwise the bimone first give surraged are well to be unade of an State (Veyagra de Labat, torn in p. 219).

XI.I. ******

CHAP: clamorous impatience for battle; amused them with the prospect of sure and speedy relief; and secured himself and the city from the effects of their despair or treachery. Twice in each month he changed the station of the officers to whom the custody of the gates was committed; the various precautions, of patroles, watch-words, lights, and music, were repeatedly employed to discover whatever passed on the ramparts; out-guards were posted beyond the ditch, and the trusty vigilance of dogs supplied the more doubtful fidelity of mankind. A letter was intercepted, which assured the king of the Goths, that the Asinarian gate. adjoining to the Lateran church, should be secretly opened to his troops. On the proof or suspicion of treason, several senators were banished, and the pope Sylverius was summoned to attend the representative of his sovereign. at his head-quarters in the Pincian palace." The ecclesinstics who followed their bishop, were detained in the first or second apartment," and he alone was admitted to the presence of Belisarius. 'The conqueror of Rome and Carthage was modestly seated at the feet of Antoning, who reclined on a stately couch: the

Exile of Pape Syl-A. D. 537. Nov. 17.

[&]quot; The many of the pulses, the falls, and the altisting girls, were all derived Joseph the complex Process. Some everal virtiges of complex and characters are more expendict in the gradient of the Minister of the Triality del Monte, (Nardint, I. iv, t. 7, p. 106; Eurbinurd, y. 200, 210 ; the ald plan of Buffarms, and the great plan of Notice. Becomes had said bla stress between the Possess and Salarus pars, (Process Outh L. L. 6: 13x

^{*} From the mention of the mirrors at neural or values, it should seem that Ballantin, even in a slege, represented the emperor, and maintained the provid erreminal of the Agrantine putare

general was silent, but the voice of reproach cuar. and menace issued from the mouth of his imperions wife. Accused by credible witnesses, and the evidence of his own subscription, the successor of St. Peter was despoiled of his pontifical ornaments, clad in the mean habit of a monk, and embarked, without delay, for a distant exile in the East. At the emperor's command, the clergy of Rome proceeded to the choice of a new bishop; and after a solemn invocation of the Holy Ghost, elected the deacon Vigilius, who had purchased the papal throne by a bribe of two hundred pounds of gold. The profit, and consequently the guilt, of this simony, was imputed to Belisarius: but the hero obeyed the orders of his wife: Antonina served the passions of the empress; and Theodora lavished her treasures, in the vain hope of obtaining a pontiff hostile or indifferent to the council of Chalcedon?

The epistle of Belisarius to the emperor an Debecnounced his victory, his danger, and his resolution, the city " According to your commands, we have entered " the dominions of the Goths, and reduced to "your obedience, Sicily, Campania, and the " city of Rome: but the loss of these conquests will "be more disgraceful than their acquisition was " giorious. Hitherto we have successfully fought " against the multitude of the barbarians, but their

⁸ Of this art of merilege, Propoples (South, L. p. s. 23) is a day and refurbing witness. The parrations of Liberatus, (Brestorium, & 27). and Anattasius, (se Vit. Poot. p. 37), are thursemotime; but emissionely. Hear the was-actions of Conditud Baronius, 14. D. 336, No. 183; A. D. \$38, Nr. 4-20; specimiano, facione conti-carrettione figurini.

CRAP.

" multitudes may finally prevail. Victory is the " gift of Providence, but the reputation of kings " and generals depends on the success or the fail-" ure of their designs. Permit me to speak with " freedom : if you wish that we should live, " send us subsistence; if you desire that we " should conquer, send us arms, horses, and men. " The Romans have received us as friends and " deliverers; but in our present distress, they " will be either betrayed by their confidence, or " we shall be oppressed by their treachery and "hatred. For myself, my life is consecrated to " your service; it is yours to reflect, whether " my death in this situation will contribute to " the glory and prosperity of your reign." Perhaps that reign would have been equally prosperous, if the peaceful muster of the East had abstrained from the conquest of Africa and Italy; but as Justinian was ambitious of fante, he made some efforts, they were feeble and languid, to support and rescue his victorious general. A reinforcement of sixteen hundred Sclavonians and Huns was led by Martin and Valerian; and as they had reposed during the winter season in the harbours of Greece, the strength of the men and horses was not impaired by the fatigues of a sea-voyage and they distinguished their valour in the first sally against the besiegers. About the time of the summer solstice, Euthalius landed at Torracina with large sums of money for the payment of the troops; he cautiously proceeded along the Applian way, and this convoy entered

Rome through the gate Capena, while Belisa- CHAP. rius, on the other side, diverted the attention of the Goths by a vigorous and successful skirmish. These seasonable aids, the use and reputation of which were dexterously managed by the Roman general, revived the courage, or at least the hopes, of the soldiers and people. The historian Procepins was despatched with an important commission, to collect the troops and provisions which Campania could furnish, or Constantinople had sent; and the secretary of Belisarius was soon followed by Antonina herself," who boldly traversed the posts of the enemy, and returned with the oriental succours to the relief of her husband and the besieged city. A fleet of three thousand Isaurians cast anchor in the bay of Naples, and afterwards at Ostia. Above two thousand horse, of whom a part were Thracians, landed at Tarentum; and, after the junction of five hundred soldiers of Campania, and a train of waggons laden with wine and flour, they directed their march on the Appian way, from Capus to the neighbourhood of Rome. The forces that arrived by land and sen, were united at the mouth of the Tiber. Autonina convened a council of war; it was resolved to surmount, with sails and ours, the adverse stream of the river: and the Goths were apprehensive of disturbing, by

^{*} The old Capera was removed by Amelian to, or near, the modum just of St. Schartlen, (see Nulli's plan). That memorable spot has been consecuted by the Egerian grove, the memory of Numm, examplest arches, the sepathtens of the Scipios, Menalli, &c.

[&]quot;The representation of Proceptus has an invitious cast regards as effects yes spin scalescenes expelience, (Goth, f. st. c. 6). Yet he is positing of a woman.

VOL. VII.

CHAP

any rash hostilities, the negotiation to which Belisarius had craftily listened. They credulously believed, that they saw no more than the vanguard of a fleet and army, which already covered the Ionian sea and the plains of Campania; and the illusion was supported by the haughty language of the Roman general, when he gave audience to the ambassadors of Vitiges. After a specious discourse to vindicate the justice of his cause, they declared that, for the sake of peace, they were disposed to renounce the possession of Sicity. "The emperor is not less generous," replied his lieutenant, with a disdainful smile; " in " return for a gift which you no longer possess, "he presents you with an ancient province of "the empire; he resigns to the Goths the so-" vereignty of the British island." Belisarius rejected with equal firmness and contempt the offer of a tribute; but he allowed the Gothic umbassadors to seek their fate from the mouth of Justinian himself; and consented, with seeming reluctance, to a truce of three months, from the winter solstice to the equinox of spring. Prudence might not safely trust either the ouths or hostages of the barbarians, but the conscious superiority of the Roman chief was expressed in the distribution of his troops. As soon as fear or lunger compelled the Goths to evacuate Alba, Porto, and Centumcellæ, their placewas instantly supplied; the garrisons of Narni, Spoleto, and Permin, were reinforced, and the seven camps of the beslegers were gradually encompassed with the calamities of a siege. The prayers and pilgrim-

Reflective resource many cities of Italy.

CHAP. XLL

age of Dathis, bishop of Milan, were not without effect; and he obtained one thousand Thracians and Laurians, to assist the revolt of Liguria against her Asian tyrant. At the same time, John the Sanguinary," the nephew of Vitalian, was detached with two thousand chosen horse, first to Alba on the Fucine lake, and afterwards to the frontiers of Picenum on the Hadratic sea. "In "that province," said Belisarius, "the Goths " have deposited their families and treasures, " without a guard or the suspicion of danger. " Doubtless they will violate the truce: let them " feel your presence, before they hear of your " motions. Spare the Italians; suffer not any " fortified places to remain hostile is your rear; to and faithfully reserve the spoil for an equal " and common partition. It would not be rea-" somable," he added with a laugh, " that whilst " we are toiling to the destruction of the drones, our more fortunate brothren should rifle and " enjoy the honey."

The whole nation of the Ostrogoths had been The Gatha assembled for the attack, and was almost entirely sign of consumed in the siege of Rome. If any credit A. D. 418, bedue to an intelligent spectator, one thirdut least Mann. of their enormous host was destroyed, in frequent and bloody combuts under the walls of the city. The had fame and pernicious qualities of the summer air, might already be imputed to the decay of agriculture and population; and the evils of fatame and pestilence were aggravated by their own licentiousness, and the unfriendly disposition of

^{*} American typ 10) has presented this synthes of Songalamyre, which might do honour to a therr.

XLL.

CHAP. the country. While Vitiges struggled with his fortune; while he hesitated between shame and ruin, his retreat was hastened by domestic alarms. The king of the Goths was informed by trembling messengers, that John the Sanguinary spread the devastations of war from the Appenine to the Hadriatic; that the rich spoils and innumerable captives of Picenum were lodged in the fortifications of Rimini; and that this formidable chief had defeated his uncle, insulted his capital, and seduced, by secret correspondence, the fidelity of his wife, the imperious daughter of Amalasontha. Yet, before he retired, Vitiges made a last effort either to storm or to surprise the city. A secret passage was discovered in one of the aqueducts; two citizens of the Vatican were tempted by bribes to intoxicate the guards of the Aurelian gate; an attack was meditated on the walls beyond the Tiber in a place which was not fortified with towers; and the barbarians advanced, with torches and scaling-ladders, to the assault of the Pincian gate. But every attempt was defeated by the intrepid vigilance of Bellisarius and his band of veterans, who, in the most perilous moments, did not regret the misence of their companions; and the Goths, alike destitute of hope and subsistence, clamorously urged their departure, before the truce should expire, and the Roman cavalry should again be united. One year and nine days after the commencement of the siege, an army so lately strong and triumphant, burnt their tents, and tumultuously repassed the Milvian bridge. They repassed

not with impunity : their thronging multitudes, CHAP. oppressed in a narrow passage, were driven headlong into the Tiber, by their own fears and the pursuit of the enemy; and the Roman general. sallying from the Pincian gate, inflicted a severe and disgraceful wound on their retreat. The slow length of a sickly and desponding host was heavily dragged along the Flaminian way; from whence the barbarians were sometimes compelled to deviate, lest they should encounter the hoxtile garrisons that guarded the high road to Rimini and Ravenna. Yet so powerful was this flying army, that Vitiges spared ten thousand men for the defence of the cities which he was most solicitous to preserve, and detached his nephew Uraias, with an adequate force, for the chastisement of rebellious Milan. At the head of his principal army, he besieged Rimini, only thirty-three miles distant from the Gothic capital. A feeble campart, and a shallow ditch, were maintained by the skill and valour of John the Sanguinary, who shared the dangerand fatigue of the meanest soldier, and emulated, on a theatre less illustrious, the military virtues of his great commander. The towers and Low R. battering engines of the barbarians were rendered useless; their attacks were repulsed; and the tedious blockade, which reduced the garrison to the last extremity of hunger, afforded time for the union and march of the Roman forces. A fleet which had surprised Ancona, sailed along the coast

of the Hadriatic, to the relief of the besieged city. The cumuch Narses landed in Picenum with two thousand Heruli and five thousand of the bravest XLI:

CHAF. troops of the East. The rock of the Appening was forced; ten thousand veterans moved round the foot of the mountains, under the command of Belisarius himself; and a new army, whose encomponent blazed with immunerable lights, appeared to advance along the Flaminian way. Overwhelmed with astonishment and despuir, the Goths abandoned the siege of Rimini, their tents, their standards, and their leaders; and Vitiges, who gave or followed the example of flight, never halted till be found a shelter within the walls and morasses of Ravenna.

Betien to Havenna-

Jestimay of the Roman genecule. A. D. 108.

To these walls, and to some fortnesses destitute of any mutual support, the Gothic monarchy was now reduced. The provinces of Italy and embraced the party of the emperor; and his army, gradually recruited to the number of twenty thousand men, must have achieved an easy and rapid conquest, if their invincible powers had not been weakened by the discord of the Roman chiefs. Before the end of the siege, an act of bleed, ambiguous and indiscreet, sullied the fair fame of Be-Berrius. Presidius, a loyal Italian, as he fied from Ravenna to Rome, was rudely stopped by Constantine, the military governor of Spoleto, and despoiled, even in a church, of two daggers richly infaid with gold and precious stones. As soon as the public danger had subsibed. Presiding complained of the loss and injury : his complaint was heard, but the order of restitution was disobeyed by the pride and avarice of the affender. Exasperated by the delay, Presiding buildy accested the general's horse as he passed through the forum;

XLL.

and, with the spirit of a citizen, demanded the CHAP common benefit of the Roman laws. The honour of Belisarius was engaged; he summoned a council; claimed the obedience of his subordinate officer; and was provoked, by an insolent reply, to call hastily for the presence of his guards. Constantine, viewing their entrance as the signal of death, drew his sword, and rushed on the general, who nimbly eluded the stroke, and was protected by his friends; while the desperate assassin was disarmed, dragged into a neighbouring chamber, and executed, or rather murdered, by the guards, at the arbitrary command of Belisarius. In this hasty act of violence, the guilt Deam of of Constantine was no longer remembered; the inc despair and death of that valuant officer were secretly imputed to the revenge of Antonina; and each of his colleagues, conscious of the same rapine, was apprehensive of the same fate. The fear of a common enemy suspended the effects of their envy and discontent; but in the confidence of approaching victory, they instiguted a powerful rival to oppose the conqueror of Rome and Africa. From the domestic service of The enthe palace, and the administration of the private Narrarevenue. Narses the conuch was suddenly exalted to the head of an army; and the spirit of an hero,

" This transmiss is referred in the public blattery (Gutta, h. 11, c. 6) with randour or caution; in the Approlance (c. 7) with individual or Oreging this Marsellinus, or suther his continuator, (in Chronit, casts weight of present its test semantical lim over the night of Communities. He had performed good service at Home and Spiders, Crimop. Coth. L. I. 4.7. 10; in Absences code inde him with a Comtantianus cannot ataboni.

CHAP, who afterwards equalled the merit and glory of Belisarius, served only to perplex the operations of the Gothic war. To his prudent counsels, the relief of Rimini was ascribed by the leaders of the discontented faction, who exhorted Narses to assume an independent and separate command. The epistle of Justinian had indeed enjoined his obedience to the general; but the dangerous excention, " as far as may be advantageous to "the public service," reserved some freedom of judgment to the discrect favourite, who had so lately departed from the sacred and familiar conversation of his sovereign. In the exercise of this doubtful right, the cumuch perpetually dissented from the opinions of Belisarius; and, after yielding with reluctance to the siege of Urbino, he deserted his colleague in the night, and marched away to the conquest of the Almilian province. The fierce and formidable bands of the Heruli were attached to the person of Narses; ten thousand Romans and confederates were persunded to march under his banners; every malecontent embraced the fair opportunity of revenging his private or imaginary wrongs; and the remaining troops of Belisurius were divided and dispersed from the garrisons of Sicily to the shores of the Hadriatic. His skill and perseverance overcame every obstacle : Urbino was taken, the sieges of Faculae, Orvieto,

Firmuiere and authursty of Sellenring,

^{*} They refused to error after his departure a sold their captives and cuttle to the Goths; and swore never to fight against them. Proceplus introduces a curious digression on the manners and adventures of this wandering nation, a part of whom dealty emigrated to Thick or Scandinavia, (Goth. & ii, c. 16, 15).

and Auximum, were undertaken and vigorously catar. prosecuted; and the cunuch Narses was at XLL length recalled to the domestic cares of the palace. All dissensions were healed, and all opposition was subdued, by the temperate authority of the Roman general, to whom his enemies could not refuse their esteem; and Belisarius inculcated the salutary lesson, that the forces of the state should compose one body, and be animated by one soul. But, in the interval of discord, the Goths were permitted to breathe; an important season was lost. Milan was destroyed, and the northern provinces of Italy were afflicted by an inundation of the Franks.

When Justinian first meditated the conquest formion of Italy, he sent ambassadors to the kings of the the Franks, and abjured them, by the common ties Franks, of alliance and religion, to join in the holy enter- 339. prise against the Arians. The Goths, as their wants were more urgent, employed a more effectual mode of persuasion, and vainly strove, by the gift of lands and money, to purchase the friendship, or at least the neutrality, of a light and perfidious nation." But the arms of Belisarius, and the revolt of the Italians, had no sooner shaken the Gothic monarchy, than Theodebert of Austrasia, the most powerful and warlike of the Merovingian kings, was persuaded to succour their distress by an indirect and seasonable aid. Without expecting the consent of their sovereign, ten thousand Burgundians, his recent subjects, de-

^{*} This autional reproach of persidy (Precup. Gott. L. ii., c. 25) offends the ear of in Mothe le Vayer, (tom, viii, p. 163-165); who critteres, as if he had not read, the Greek historian.

CHAP.

scended from the Alps, and joined the troops which Vitiges had sent to chastise the revolt of Milan. After an obstinate siege, the capital of Liguria was reduced by famine, but no capitulation could be obtained, except for the safe retreat of the Roman garrison. Datius, the orthodox hishop, who had seduced his countrymen to rehellion' and ruin, escaped to the luxury and honours of the Byzantine court; but the clergy, perhaps the Arian ciergy, were slaughtered at the foot of their own altars by the defenders of the catholic Three hundred thousand males were reported to be slain; the female sex, and the more precious spoil, was resigned to the Burgundians; and the houses, or at least the walls of Milan, were levelled with the ground. The Goths, in their last moments, were revenged by the destruction of a city, second only to Rome in size and opulence, in the splendour of its buildings, or the number of its inhabitants; and Belisarius sympathized alone in the fate of his deserted and devoted friends. Encouraged by this successful

Destroittion of Mitan.

I Harmin applicate his recasm, and justifies the earbolic heteraqui ne sub hereits principe degran monon laplicus inevent—an unful exaction. The more rational Muruters (Amuel d'Italia; tom, 4, p. 85) finds at the good of perjuty, and Manter at least the regradues of Dature.

⁶ St. Datina was soors successful against devils than against barbarians. He reveiled with a manorina returns, and occupied at Contacts a large bases, (Baronina, A. D. 538, No. 88; A. D. 530, No. 80).

b Repulse epissees, (compute Frampois, Goth, Z.B., T. 7, 21). Yet such population is correlate; and the second or third my of that; each set replace if my only declinate the numbers of the present test. Best Milan and Geoma reversal in less than thirty years, (Paul Discoude Goths Langebard, L. 15, c. 22).

inroad, Theodebert himself, in the ensuing spring, CHAP. invaded the plains of Italy with an army of one XLL hundred thousand barbarians. The king, and some chosen followers, were mounted on horseback, and armed with lances; the infantry, without bows or spears, were satisfied with a shield, a sword, and a double-edged battle-axe, which, in their hands, became a deadly and imerring weapon. Italy trembled at the march of the Franks; and both the Gothic prince and the Roman general, alike ignorant of their designs, solicited, with hope and terror, the friendship of these dangerous allies. Till he had secured the passage of the Po on the bridge of Pavia. the grandson of Clavis dissembled his intentions, which he at length declared, by assaulting, almost at the same instant, the hostile camps of the Romans and Goths. Instead of uniting their arms, they fled with equal precipitation : send the fertile, though desolute, provinces of Liguria and Almilia, were abandoned to a licentions host of burbarians, whose rage was not mitigated by any thoughts of settlement or conquest. Among the cities which they rained, Genoa, not yet constructed of marble, is particularly enumerated; and the deaths of thousands, according to the regular practice of war, appear to have excited less horror than some idolatrous sacrilices of women undchildren, which were performed

Besigns Promptus, perhaps too Romani see the Chronicles of Manjo se und Marcellinus, Januardes, (or Spream, Mega, in Minister, tues.), p. 231), and Gregory of Tours, S. III, c. 22, in term, i., of the Man-tank of Prancy. Gengusy curpous a defeat of Beliaving, who, in Almoin, (de Cestis Franc. Link, c. 25), in tops, m., p. 53), is stein by the Preman-

XLL.

CHAP. with impunity in the camp of the most Christian king. If it were not a melancholy truth, that the first and most cruel sufferings must be the lot of the innocent and helpless, history might exult in the misery of the conquerors, who, in the midst of riches, were left destitute of bread or wine, reduced to drink the waters of the Po, and to feed on the flesh of distempered cattle. The dysentery swept away one-third of their army; and the clamours of his subjects, who were impatient to pass the Alps, disposed Theodebert to listen with respect to the mild exhortations of Belisarius. The memory of this inglerious and destructive warfare was perpetuated on the medals of Gaul; and Justinian, without unsbeathing his sword, assumed the title of conqueror of the Franks. The Meravingian prince was offended by the vanity of the imperor; he affected to pity the fallen fortunes of the Goths; and his insidious offer of a federal union was fortified by the promise or menace of descending from the Alps at the head of five hundred thousand men. His plans of conquest were boundless and perhaps chimerical. The king of Austrasia threatened to cliastise Justinian, and to nurch to the gates of Constantinople : he was overthrown and slain' by a wild bull," as he hunted in the Belgie or German forests.

Appelling, h. s., p. 14, 15. Could be have entered or subdited the Granday or Lumbayers of Pantonias, the Greek historian is semident that he must have been destroyed in Thrace.

The king penetral his open with hull everywood a tree on his head -he expired the same day. Such is the story of Agethines but the District biscorizon of France them, i., p. 209, 403, 558, 867) impute his death to a fever.

[&]quot; Without long myself in a labyring of species and names. the sureths.

foreign and domestic enemies, he seriously applied XLL his forces to the final reduction of Italy. In the personnel siege of Osimo, the general was nearly transpierc- Bayensa ed with an arrow, if the mortal stroke had not been intercepted by one of his guards, who lost, in that pious office, the use of his hand. The Goths of Osimo, four thousand warriors, with those of Farsulse and the Cottian Alps, were among the last who maintained their independence; and their gallant resistance, which almost fired the patience, deserved the esteem, of the conqueror. His prudence refused to subscribe the safe conduct which they asked, to join their brethren of Ravenua; but they saved, by an honourable capitulation, one moiety at least of their wealth, with the free alternative of retiring peaceably to their estates, or inlisting to serve the emperor in his Persian wars.

The multitudes which yet adhered to the standard of Vitiges, far surpassed the number of the Roman troops; but neither prayers, nor defiance, nor. the extreme danger of his most falthful subjects, could tempt the Gothic king beyond the fortifications of Ravenua. These fortifications were, indeed, impregnable to the assaults of art or viofence; and when Belisurius invested the capital. he was soon convinced that famine only could tame the stubborn spirit of the barbarians. The sea, the land, and the channels of the Po, were guarded

As soon as Belisarius was delivered from his CHAP.

mumbs, urus, blown, bubillis, burarus, briffale, des (Briffin, Hist Nat. toms 'ti, and Supplement, tom. III, vi), it is exercise, that is the size, ocumy a large wild species of formed cattle was builted in the grant forests of the Vocque in Lorraine, and the Ardenace, tween Turne ram, in h. v. v. 10, p. 200).

CHAR

by the vigilance of the Roman general; and his morality extended the rights of war to the practice of poisoning the waters," and secretly firing the granaries" of a besleged city." While he pressed the blockade of Rayenna, he was surprised by the arrival of two ambassadors from Constantinople, with a treaty of peace, which Justinian had improdently signed, without deigning to consult the author of his victory. By this disgraceful and precarious agreement, Italy and the Gothic treasure were divided, and the provinces beyond the Po were left with the regal title to the successor of Theodoric. The ambassadors were eager to accomplish their salutary commission; the captive Vitiges accepted, with transport, the unexpected offer of a crown; honour was less prevalent among the Goths, thun the want and appetite of food; and the Roman chiefs, who nurmured at the continuance of the war, professed implicit submission

To the sings of Auximum, by their laboures to demonsts an old approxima, and they can not the attention, I dead bedders I much leave to the process in the state of the state

The Goths suspensed Mathamathia as an arisimplies to the misellief, which perhaps was occurred band by sectionary lightning.

In strict philosophy, a timinate of the rights of we seems to hopey more the medical contradiction of the machines of the machines in an offic distinction between the jun unitary and the jun partition, between poleon and intertion. He balances in one made the partition, they seem poleon and intertion. He balances in one made the partition, if Homer, (Mayor A. 216, &c.), and Bleeus, (f. sl., a. 20, No. 7, ont.) and in the other, the examples of Soion (Panamics, L. r., c. 27) and Bullimate. See the great world the Belli of Panis, L. m. c. 4, a. 25, 16, 17, and in Hardwyrne's remain, hum. H. p. 257, A.C. Yet I can understand the benough and valuably of an agreement, tarns or express, mutually to abstant from certain modes of panishing. See the Amphintymus cash in Rechipes, de Palet Legations.

to the commands of the emperor. If Beli-nrius CHAP. had possessed only the courage of a soldier, the XLL laurel would have been snatched from his hand by timid and envious counsels; but in this decisive moment, he resolved, with the magnanimity of a statesman, to sustain alone the danger and murit of generous disobedience. Each of his officers gave a written opinion, that the siege of Ravenna was impracticable and hopeless; the general then rejected the treaty of partition, and declared his own resolution of leading Vitiges in chains to the feet of Justinian. The Goths retired with doubt and dismay; this peremptory refusal deprived them of the only signature which they could trust, and filled their minds with a just apprehension, that a sagucious enemy had discovered the full extent of their deplorable state. They compared the fame and fortune of Belisarius with the weakness of their ill-fated king; and the comparison suggested in extraordinary project, to which Vitiges, with apparent resignation, was compelled to acquiesce. Partition would ruin the strength, exile would disgrace the honour, of the nation; but they offered their arms, their treasures, and the fortifications of Ravenue, if Bellsurius would disclaim the authority of a master, accept the chaice of the Goths, and assume, as he had deserved, the kingdom of Italy. If the false lusture of a diadem could have tempted the loyalty of a faithful subject, his prudence must have foreseen the inconstancy of the barbarians, and his rational ambition would prefer the safe and honourable station of a Roman general.

XLL.

CHAP. Even the patience and seeming satisfaction with which he entertained a proposal of treason, might be susceptible of a malignant interpretation. But the lieutenant of Justinian was conscious of his own rectitude: he entered into a dark and crooked path, as it might lead to the voluntary submission of the Goths; and his dexterous policy persuaded them that he was disposed to comply with their wishes, without engaging an onth or a promise for the performance of a treaty which he secretly abhorred. The day of the surrender of Ravenna was stipulated by the Gothic ambassadors: a fleet, laden with provisions, sailed as a welcome guest into the deepestrecess of the harbour: the gates were opened to the fancied king of Italy; and Belisarius, without meeting an enemy, triumphantly marched A.D. am, through the streets of an impregnable city." The Romans were astonished by their success: the multitude of tall and robust barbarians were confounded by the image of their own patience; and the masculine females, spitting in the faces of their sons and husbands, most bitterly reproached them for betraying their dominion and freedom to these pigmies of the south, contemptible in their numbers, diminutive in their statures Before the Goths could recover from the first surprise, and claim the accomplishment of their

Mubdues the Gothic kingdom of Italy. Downber.

[&]quot; Ravening was taken, not by the year 340, but he the latter and of Milt and Pegi ttom. o. p. 565) is restified by Maraturi, (Annali d'Hallo, toms, v., p. 62), who proves, from an original act on paperns. (Anthonis. Italiae Medil Avi, tona, ii, diesert, unnii, p. 200-1007; Maffet, Interia Diplomat. p. 132-107), that before the Sd of January 540, power and free correspondence were restored between Bavenna and Parera-

doubtful hopes, the victor established his power CHAP. in Ravenna, beyond the danger of repentance and XLL revolt. Vitiges, who perhaps had attempted to Controls scape, was honourably guarded in his palace; or Vinger. the flower of the Gothic youth was selected for the service of the emperor; the remainder of the people was dismissed to their penceful habitations in the southern provinces; and a colony of Italians was invited to replenish the depopulated city. The submission of the capital was imitated in the towns and villages of Italy, which had not been subdued, or even visited, by the Romans; and the independent Goths who remained in arms at Pavia and Verona, were ambitious only to become the subjects of Belisarius. But his inflexible loyalty rejected, except as the substitute of Justinian, their oaths of allegiance; and he was not offended by the reproach of their deputies, that he rather chose to be a slave than a king.

Afterthesecond victory of Belisarius, envy again noun whispered, Justinian listened, and the hero was at news recalled. " The remnant of the Gothic war was took " no longer worthy of his presence: a gracious " sovereign was impatient to reward his services. " and to consult his wisdom; and he alone was " capable of defending the East against the innu-" merable armies of Persia." Belisarius under-

[&]quot; He was seized by John the Sungainary, but an eather secretion? was plouged for his easity to the Busilion Julia, editor. Miscott & west, in Moratori, tom. i. p. 107). Anastavius (in Vit. Pent. js. 40) gives a tirk but probable account. Montfamor is quoted by Masson affire, of (Se Germana, s.i. 23) for a votice shight representing the raptivity of Vingen, and now in the reflection of Signer Land) at Rome.

301.1. ******

CHAP, stood the suspicion, accepted the excuse, embarked at Ravenna his spoils and trophies; and proved. by his ready obedience, that such an abrupt removal from the government of Italy was not less unjust than it might have been indiscreet. The emperor received with bonourable courtesy, both Vitiges and his more noble consort: and as thu king of the Goths conformed to the Athanasian faith, he obtained with a rich inheritance of lands in Asia, the rank of senator and patrician." Every spectator admired, without peril, the strength and stature of the young barbarians: they adored the majesty of the throne, and promised to shed their blood in the service of their benefictor. Justinian deposited in the Byzantine palace the treasures of the Gothic monarchy. A flattering senate was sametimes admitted to gaze on the magnificent spectacle; but it was enviously secluded from the public view; and the conqueror of Italy renounced, without a murmur, perhaps without a sigh, the well-earned honours of a second triumph. His glory was indeed exalted above all external pomp; and the faint and hollow praises of the court were supplied, even in a servile age, by the respect and admiration of his country. Whenever he appeared in the streets and public places of Constantinople, Belisarius attracted and satisfied the eyes of the people. His lofty stature and

Viriges Head two years as Constantionale, and improximin in affeeth consister to empouring relate account formation. His widow, Medicineats, the wife and mother of the patricianic the older and yearness Germann, control that attenne of Antrico and Amaii blood, Commence, 60, p. 771, in Maraton, tom D.

innjestic countenancefulfilled their expectations of CHAP. un hero; the meanest of his fellow-citizens were emboldened by his gentle and gracious demeanour; and the martial train which attended his footsteps, left his person more accessible than in a day of battle. Seven thousand horsemen, matchless for beauty and valour, were maintained in the servtee, and at the private expence of the general." Their prowess was always conspicuous in single combats, or in the foremost ranks; and both parties confessed, that in the siege of Rome, the guards of Belisarius had alone vanquished the barbarian bout. Their numbers were continually augmented by the bravest and most faithful of the enemy; and his fortunate captives, the Vandals, the Moors, and the Goths, emulated the attachment of his domestic followers. By the union of liberality and justice, he acquired the love of the soldiers, without alienating the affections of the people. The sick and wounded were relieved with medicines and money; and still more efficaciously, by the healing visits and smiles of their commander. The loss of a weapon or no borse was instantly repaired, and each deed of valour was rewarded by the rich and honourable gifts of a bracelet or a collar, which were rendered more precious by the judgment of Belisurius. He was endeared to the husbandmen, by the peace and plenty which they enjoyed uniler

Provident, Gods I ill. s. L. Abenda, a French small of the title contrary, who had obtained, and has dailigared, some authorite inforceoften M. Belleurine, mornious, in his nime, 12,000 parties alarmques proprits allama expendits. Idaldes 18:000 actillers, (Historian) of France, term He. De Gotte Franc. I. S. c. 6, p. 43).

CHAR. the shadow of his standard. Instead of being injured, the country was enriched by the march of the Roman armies; and such was the rigid discipline of their camp, that not an apple was gathered from the tree, not a path could be traced in the fields of corn. Belisarius was chaste and soher. In the license of a military life, none could boast that they had seen him intoxicated with wine: the most beautiful captives of Gothic or Vandal race were offered to his embraces; but he turned aside from their charms, and the husband of Antonina was never suspected of violating the laws of conjugal fidelity. The spectator and historian of his exploits has observed, that amidst the perils of war, he was daring without rashness, prudent without fear, slow or rapid according to the exigencies of the moment; that in the deepest distress he was animated by real or apparent hope, but that he was modest and bumble in the most prosperous fortune. By these virtues, he equalled or excelled the ancient masters of the military art. Victory, by sea and land, attended his arms. He subdued Africa, Italy, and the adjacent islands, Icd away captives the successors of Genseric and Theodoric; filled Constantinople with the spoils of their palaces, and in the space of six years recovered half the provinces of the western empire. In his fame and merit, in wealth and power, he remained, without a rival, the first of the Roman subjects: the voice of envy could only magnify his dangerous importance; and the emperor might applaud his own discerning spirit which had discovered and raised the genius of Belisarius.

It was the custom of the Roman triumphs, CHAPthat a slave should be placed behind the chariot. Ni.i. to remind the conqueror of the instability of for- serve histune, and the infirmities of human nature. Pro- tory of his copius, in his Ancedotes, has assumed that serv-tonia. ile and ungrateful office. The generous reader may cast away the libel, but the evidence of facts will adhere to his memory; and he will reluctantly confess, that the fame, and even the virtue, of Belisarius, were polluted by the lust and eruelty of his wife; and that the hero deserved an appellation which may not drop from the pen of the decent historian. The mother of Antonima" was a theatrical prostitute, and both her father and grandfather exercised at Thessalonica and Constantinople the vile, though lucrative, profession of charioteers. In the various situations of their fortune, she became the companion, the enemy, the servant, and the favourity of the empress Theodora; these loose and ambitious females had been connected by similar pleasures; they were separated by the jealousy of vice, and at length reconciled by the partnership of guilt. Beforeher marriage with Belisarius, Antonina had. one husband and many lovers; Photius, the son of her former auptials, was of an age to distinguish himself at the siege of Naples; and it was not till

The diligence of Alemannus could and but little to the our first and most enrious chapters of the Austriction. Of these empire Anerdokes, a part may be true, breamer purbable-and a part true, became improbable. Proceptus must have been the farmer, and the latter he small marrely assent.

CHAP-XIde --Hardweet. Theodoafres...

the autumn of her age and beauty' that she indulged a scandalous attachment to a Theacian youth. Theodorius had been educated in the Ennomian heresy; the African voyage was consecrated by the baptism and auspicious name of the first soldier who embarked; and the proselyte was adopted into the family of his spiritual parents / Belisarius and Antonina. Before they touched the shores of Africa, this buly kindred degenerated into schoud love; and as Antonina soon everleaped the bounds of modesty and cantion, the Roman general was alone ignorant of his own dishonour. During their residence at Cartinge, he surprised the two lovers in a subterraneous chamber, salitary, warm, and almost naked. Anger flashed from his eyes. " With the " help of this young man," said the unblushing Antonian, " I was secreting our most precious " effects from the knowledge of Justinian." The youth resumed his garments, and the pious husband consented to dish lieve the evidence of his own senses. From this pleasing and perhaps voluntary defusion. Belisurius was awakemed at Syracuse, by the officious information of Maccdoma: and that female attendant, after requiring an eath for her security, produced two chamber-

t. Compare the Ventialic War O. t. c. 17) with the Ascerbire, & D. and Alemanus, (p. 2, 3). This mode of haptismal adoption was re-

vived by Lon the philompher.

Procopius insumuma, (America e. \$5 shat, when Belliarius vecorned to Italy, (A. D. MS), Astronius was sixty years of age. A forced, but more polits construction, which refers that date to the memors when he was writing, (A. D. 359), would be competible with the manhaod of Protine, (Gothle, I. I. e. 10), in

lains, who, like herself, and often beheld the adul- unar. teries of Antonian. An husty flight into Asia sayed Theodosius from the justice of an injured husband, who had signified to one of his guards the order of his death; but the tears of Autonina, and her artful seductions, assured the credulous hero of her immeence; and he stooped, against his faith and judgment, to abandon those improdent friends who had presumed to accuse or doubt the chastity of his wife. The revenge of a guilty woman is implacable and bloody: the unfortunate Alacedonia, with the two witnesses; were secretly arrested by the minister of her cruelty: their tongues were cut out, their bodies were backed into small pieces, and their remains were cast into the senof Syracuse. A rush, though judicious saving of Constantine, "I would soon-" or have punished the adultress than the boy," was deeply remembered by Antonina; and two years afterwards, when despair had armed that officer against his general, her sanguinary advice decided and hastened his execution. Even the Indignation of Photius was not forgiven by his mother; the exile of her son prepared the recal of her lover; and Theodosius condescended to accept the pressing and humble invitation of the conqueror of Italy. In the absolute direction of his household, and in the important commissions of peace and war," the favourite youth most rapidly acquired a fortune of four hundred thousand

^{*} In November 237, Platting arrestled the paper (follower: finer, c. the Pagil tom, in p. 567). About the end of \$18, the largest seen Throchiera were no done to several orders - it in important and highly tien emmission es flavenza, (Gott. I. fi, c. 18).

CHAP. pounds sterling; and after their return to Comstantinople, the passion of Antonina, at least, continued ardent and unabated. But four, devotion, and lassitude, perhaps, inspired Theodosins with more serious thoughts. He dreaded the busy scandal of the capital, and the indiscreet fondness of the wife of Belisarius; escaped from her embraces, and retiring to Ephesus, shaved his head, and took refuge in the sanctuary of a monastic life. The despuir of the new Ariadne could scarcely have been excused by the death of her husband. She wept, she tore her hair, she filled the palace with her cries; " she had " lost the dearest of friends, a tender, a faithful, " a laborious friend " But her warm entreaties, fortified by the prayers of Belisurius, were insufficient to draw the hely monk from the solitude of Ephesus. It was not till the general moved forward for the Persian war, that Theodosius could be tempted to return to Constantinople; and the short interval before the departure of Antonian herself was boldly devoted to love and plensure.

Beauty. ment of Beliarius and bar mn Photime.

A philosopher may pity and forgive the infirmities of female nature, from which he receives no real injury; but contemptible is the husband who feels, and yet endures, his own infamy in that of his wife. Antonian pursued her son with implacable hatred; and the gallant Photius was exposed to her secret persecutions in the camp beyond the Tigris. Enraged by his own wrongs,

^{*} Theophines (Chrosograph, p. 204) styles him Photons, the sento-law of Religation ; and he is copied by the Historia Microlla and Anastichet.

and by the dishonour of his blood, he cast away CHAP. in his turn the sentiments of nature, and revealed to Belisurius the turpitude of a woman who had violated all the duties of a mother and a wife. From the surprise and indignation of the Roman general, his former credulity appears to have been sincere; he embraced the knees of the son of Antonina, adjored him to remember his obligations rather than his birth, and confirmed at the alter their holy yows of revenge and mutual defence: The dominion of Antonina was impaired by absence; and when she met her husband, on his return from the Persian confines, Belisarius, in his first and transient emotions, confined her person, and threatened her life. Photius was more resolved to punish, and less prompt to pardon; he flew to Ephesus; extorted from a trusty ennuch of his mother the full confession of her guilt; arrested Theodosius and his treasures in the church of St. John the apastle, and concealed his captives. whose execution was only delayed, in a secure and sequestered fortress of Cilicia. Such a daring outrage against public justice could not pass with impunity; and the cause of Antonina was espoused by the empress, whose favour she had deserved by the recent services of the disgrace of a prefect, and the exile and murder of a pope. At the end of the campaign, Belisarius was recalled: he complied, as usual, with the imperial mandate His mind was not prepared for rebellion; his obediener, however adverse to the dictates of honour, was consument to the wishes of his heart; and when he embraced his wife, at the command, and

XLL

perhaps in the presence, of the empress, the tender husband was disposed to forgive or to be forgiven. The bounty of Theodorn reserved for her companion a more precious favour. "I have " found," she said, " my dearest patrician, a pearl " of inestimable value; it has not yet been viewed " by any mortal eye; but the sight and the pes-" session of this jewel are destined for my friend." As soon as the curiosity and impatience of Antoning were kindled, the door of a bed-chamber was thrown open, and she beheld her lover; whose the dilleger of the curuchs had discovered in his secret prison. Her silent wonder burst into possionate exclamations of gratitude and joy, and she named Theodora her queen, her bemefactress, and her saviour. The monk of Ephems was nour shotl in the palace with luxury and ambition; but instead of assuming, as he was promined, the command of the Roman armies, Thesdosins expired in the first fatigues of an amorous interview. The grief of Antonian could only be assunged by the sufferings of her son. A youth of consular rank, and a sickly constitution, was punished, without a trial, like a malefactor and a slave : yet such was the constancy of his mind; that Photius austnined the tortures of the scourge and the rack, without violating the faith which be had sworn to Belisarius. After this finitless cruelty, the sen of Antonian while his mother feasted with the empress, was buried in her subterraneous prisons, which admitted not the distinction of night and day. He twice escaped to the most venerable sanctuaries of Constantinople,

Persontion of her the churches of St. Sophia and of the Virgina CHAP. but his tyrants were insensible of religion as of. pity , and the helpless youth, amidst the clamours of the clergy and people, was twice deagged fromthe alure to the sinugeon. His third attempt was more successful. At the end of three years, the prophet Zucharia, or some mortal friend, indicated the means of an escape; he chaled the spies and guards of the empress, reached the hely sepulchre of Jerusalem, embraced the profession . of a monk; and the althot Photius was employed, after the death of Justinian, to reconcile and regulate the churches of Egypt. The sound Antoning suffered all that on enemy can inflie ; herpatient husband imposed on himself the more caquisite misery of violating his promise and anserting his friend.

In the succeeding campaign, Belisarius was nealer they com sent against the Persians : he saved the East, but he offended Theodora, and perhaps the emperor himself. 'The undaty of Justinian and counter nunced the rumour of his death; and the Roman general, on the supposition of that probable event, spoke the few language of a citizen and a soldier. His colleague Buzes, who concurred in the same sentiments, last his rank, his liberty, and his health, by the persecution of the empress; but the disgrace of Belisarius was alleviated by the dignity of his own character, and the influence of his wife, who might wish to bumble, but could not desire to rum, the partner of her fortunes. Even his removal was coloured by the assurance, that the sinking state of Italy would be retrieved

CHAE, by the single presence of its conqueror. But no sooner had he returned, alone and defenceless, than an hostile commission was sent to the East. to seize his treasures and criminate his actions: the guards and veterans who followed his private banner, were distributed among the chiefs of the army, and even the cumuchs presumed to cast lots for the partition of his martial domestics. When he passed with a small and sordid retinue through the streets of Constantinople, his forlorn appearance excited the amazement and compassion of the people. Justinian and Theodora received him with cold ingratitude; the servile crowd. with insolence and contempt; and in the evening he retired with trembling steps to his deserted palace. An indisposition, feigued or real, had confined Antonina to her apartment; and she walked disdainfully silent in the adjacent portice, while Belisarius threw himself on his bed, and expected, in an agony of grief and terror, the death which he had so often braved under the walls of Rome. Long after sun-set a messenger was announced from the empress; he opened with anxious curiosity the lefter which contained the sentence of his fate. "You cannot be ignorant " how much you have deserved my displeasure. "I am not insensible of the services of Antonina. "To her merits and intercession I have granted " your life, and permit you to retain a part of your " treasures, which might be justly forfeited to the " state. Let your gratitude, where it is due, be " displayed, not in words, but in your future be-

" haviour." I know not how to believe or to re-

late the transports with which the hero is said to have received this ignominious pardon. He fell prostrate before his wife, he kissed the feet of his saviour, and he devoutly promised to live the grateful and submissive slave of Antonina. A fine of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling was levied on the fortunes of Relicarius; and with the office of count, or master of the royal stables, he accepted the conduct of the Italian war. At his departure from Constantino. ple, his friends, and even the public, were persunded, that as soon as he regained his freedom. he would renounce his dissimulation; and that his wife, Theodorn, and perhaps the emperor himself, would be sacrificed to the just rovenge of a virtuous rebel. Their hopes were deceived; and the unconquerable patience and loyalty of Belisarius appear either below or above the character of a MANA

^{*} The continuator of the abrandals of Marrollines given, as a lev decent words, the addition of the American Deliverine to Oriente accratics, in affirmany presentance of the orient grant, or involve to the accretion of the continuation of the

CHAP, NLH.

State of the barberic world—Establishment of the Landbards on the Danula—Tribes and invoids of the Statematics—Origin, empire, and embassics of the Turks—The flight of the dears—Charves I, or Nashirata, king of Perus—His prespectus rigo and scars with the Rossaus—The Chalchian av Lanc was—The sEthiopians.

Workings of the employee of June.
A. D. 527-

Our estimate of personal merit is relative to the common faculties of mankind. The aspiring efforts of genius, or virtue, either in active or speculative life, are measured, not so much by their real elevation, as by the height to which they uscend above the level of their age or country; and the same stature, which in a people of giants would pass unnoticed, must appear conspicuous in a race of pigmies. Leonidas, and his three hundred companions, devoted their lives at Thermopyle; but the education of the infant, the boy. and the man, had prepared, and almost insured, this memorable sacrifice; and each Spartan would approve, rather than admire, an act of duty, of which himself and eight thousand of his fellowcitizens were equally capable. The great Pom-

[&]quot;If will be a pleasure, not a task, as errol Hirodorm, the sile is 104, 128, p. 350, 615). The construction of Xerras and Dermistias at Thermopyles, is one of the most interesting and no relacense in history, it was the marine of the coyal Sparma to hit had, with degradal and amount the entire of the corner.

pey might inscribe on his trophies, that he had CHAP. defeated in buttle two millions of enemies, and NLH reduced fifteen hundred cities from the lake Meotis to the Red Searb but the fortune of Rome flew before his engles; the nations were oppressed by their own fears, and the invincible legions which he commanded, had been formed by the habits of conquest and the discipline of ages. In this view, the character of Belisarius may be deservedly placed above the heroes of the ancient republics. His imperfections flowed from the contagion of the times; his virtues were his own, the free gift of nature or reflection; he caised himself without a master or a rival; and so inadequatewere the atmocommitted to his hand, that his sole advantage was derived from the pride and presumption of his adversaries. Under his command, the subjects of Justinian often deserved to be called Romana; but the unwarlike appellation of Greeks was imposed as a term of reproach by the haughty Goths; who affected to block, that they must dispute the kingdam of Italy with a nation of tragedisms, pantamimes, and pirates. The climate of Asia has indeed been found less congenial than that of Finrope, to military spirit; these populous countries were enervated by lineary despotismental supersti-

See this pount inscription in Piley, (Hitt, Nature etc., 174. Few men have some employedary moved of goe's and singuises our contil deworld thatter to preduce a more strating enoughed the removalered fortune, said the really of homes, while-

[&]quot; Tinger a rear of in the margin along a beating from a clim to be epopular, and more appropriate. This has a trust of Free party to pers of germants, silling for inpury or hotely, silvent district the lift Content in Hundry Quarters Grass, them had a 1980.

tion; and the monks were more expensive and more numerous than the soldiers of the East. The regular force of the empire had once amounted to six hundred and forty-five thousand men : it was reduced, in the time of Justinian, to one hundred and fifty thousand; and this number, large as it may seem, was thinly scattered over the sea and land; in Spain and Italy, in Africa and Egypt, on the banks of the Danube, the coast of the Enxine, and the frontiers of Persia. The citizen was exhausted, yet the soldier was unpaid; his poverty was mischievously soothed by the privilege of rapine and indolence; and the tardy payments were detained and intercepted by the fraud of those agents who usurp, without courage or danger, the emoluments of war. Publie and private distress recruited the armies of the state; but in the field, and still more in the presence of the enemy, their numbers were always defective. The want of national spirit was supplied by the precarious faith and disorderly service of barbarian mercenaries. Even military honour, which has often survived the loss of virtue and freedom, was almost totally extinct. The generals, who were multiplied beyoud the example of former times, laboured only to prevent the success, or to cally the reputation. of their colleagues; and they had been taught by experience, that if merit sometimes provoked the jealously, error, or even guilt, would obtain the imbalgence, of a gracious emperor." In such an age

the this cases will don't be the tilthe war? the willer of the Assessment cannot aggreeate these absence.

the triumples of Belisarius, and afterwards of Nar- CHAP. ses, shine with incomparable lustre; but they are XLIIencompassed with the darkest shades of disgrace and calamity. While the lieutenant of Justinian subdued the kingdoms of the Goths and Vandals, the emperor," timid, though ambitious, balanced the forces of the harburians, fomented their divisions by flattery and falsehood, and invited by his patience and liberality the repetition of injuries. The keys of Carthage, Rome, and Ravenna, were presented to their conqueror, while Antioch was destroyed by the Persians. and Justinian trembled for the safety of Constantinople:

Even the Gothle victories of Bellsarius were pre- Sue at judicial to the state, since they abolished the important barrier of the Upper Danube, which had been so faithfully guarded by Theodoric and his daughter. For the defence of Italy, the Goths evacuated Pannonia and Noricum, which they left in a penceful and flourishing condition: the sovereignty was claimed by the emperor of the Romans: the actual possession was abandoned to the boldness of the first invader. On the opposite banks of the Danube, the plains of Upper Hungary and the Transylvanian hills were possessed, since the death of Attila, by the tribes of the Gepidae, who re- The Gepi-

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[&]quot; Agathias, L. v., p. 157, 158. He confines this synthesis of the emperor and the empire to the old age of Justiming him, also he was mever young.

This much levers policy, which Proceeding (Ancedon v. 19) imputes to the emperor, is revealed in his spirite to a Southing prince, who was capable of understanding it. Ayas eposte an ayyowers, ayr. Amethias, (l. v. p. 170, 171).

spected the Gothic arms, and despised, not indeed the gold of the Romans, but the secret motive of their annual subsidies. The vacant fortifications of the river were instantly occupied by these burbarious; their standards were planted on the walls of Sirminm and Belgvade; and the irenical tone of their apology aggravated this inmit on the majesty of the empire. "So exten-" sive, O Carshr, are your dominions; so numer-" one are your cities;) that you are continually " speking for nations to whom, either in peace " or war, you may relinquish these useless pos-" sessions. The Copida are your brave and " faithful allies; and if they have anticipated " your gifts, they have shown a just confidence "in your bounty." Their presumption was exrused by the mode of revenge which Justinian emliesest. Instead of asserting the rights of a soversign for the protection of his subjects, the emperor invited a strange people to invade and possess the Roman provinces between the Danube and the Alps: and the ambition of the Genialis was checked by the rising power and fame of the Losinanns? This corcupt appellation has been diffused in the this teenth century by the merchants and bunkers, the Italian posterity of these savings warriors; but

The Louis-

Core Grimmi impacts foresines, and Valleije Paragraphs of the Lordinests, att, 1900. Comprised in principal mobilitate. Playing at a few parameters and problem perceilling that the perceilling time of the Mariller Greenant of 6th. Set allow to Sente, the on p. 1460. The test prographers place that beyond the fifth, in the tallogue of Meglebough and the middle marris of Branch classifier and their algorithm will agree with the patriotic requires to the Count in Hertilery, that most of the backgrows requires to mental from the compression of the backgrows requires to the Count in the contrast which still practice the arm of the

the original name of Langobarda's expressive only cure. of the peculiar length and fashion of their beards. I am not disposed either to question or to justify their Scandinavian origin; nor to pursue the migrations of the Lombards through unknown regions and marvellous adventures. About the time of Augustus and Trajan, a ray of historic light brenks on the darkness of their antiquities. and they are discovered, for the first time, between the Eibe and the Oder. Fierce, beyond the example of the Germans, they delighted to propagate the tremendous belief, that their heads were formed like the heads of dogs, and that they drank the blood of their enemies whom they vanquished in battle. The smallness of their numhers was recruited by the adoption of their bruvest slaves; and glone, amidst their powerful neighbours, they defended by arms their highspirited independence. In the tempests of the north, which overwhelmed so many names and nations, this little bark of the Lomboods still foured on the surface ! they gradually descended towards the south and the Danube; and at the end of four hundred years they again appear with their ancient valour and renown. Their manners were not less ferocious. The assayanation of a royal guest was executed in the presence, and by the command, of the king's daughter, who had been provoked by some words of insult, and disappointed by his

b The Semilinerics edgle of the three and Lembards, so street by Part Warrento, summed the threets, to attacked by Chicarias, (Germania Antiq. 5 iii, c. 20) p. 10r, do. 5, a ratio of Traces, and defended by Gentles, (Freingen), at Mar. Gotto p. 38, &c.), the finefile, ambarador,

diminutive stature; and a tribute, the price of blood, was imposed on the Lombards, by his brother, the king of the Heroli. Adversity revived a sense of moderation and justice, and the insolence of conquest was chastised by the signal defeat and irreparable dispersion of the Heruli, who were scated in the southern provinces of Poland. The victories of the Lombards recommended them to the friendship of the emperors: and at the solicitation of Justinian, they passed the Danube, to reduce, according to their treaty, the cities of Noricum and the fortresses of Pannonin. But the spirit of rapine soon tempted them beyond these ample limits; they wandered along the coust of the Elgdrintic as far as Dyrtachium, and presumed, with familiar rudeness. to enter the towns and houses of their Roman allies, and to seize the captives who had escaped from their audacious hands. These acts of hostility, the sallies, as it might be pretended, of some loose adventurers, were disowned by the nation. and excused by the emperor; but the arms of the Lombards were more seriously engaged by a contest of thirty years, which was terminated only by the exiirpation of the Gepidse. The hostile untions often pleaded their cause before the throne of Constantinople a and the crafty Justinian, to whom the harbarians were almost equally callous, pronounced a partial and ambiguous sentence, and dexteronsly protracted the war by slow and ineffec-

^{*}Two facts in the marrett or of Tant Diagonals (), i. c. 20; are expressive of mathematican manners.—I. Durn of influtes indept.—while he pleyed at draughts. 2. Comparison viridentia lim. The cultivation of dia supposes property, communico, agriculture, and manufactures.

tual succours. Their strength was formidable, GHAR. since the Lombards, who sent into the field se XLIL veral myriads of soldiers, still claimed, as the weaker side, the protection of the Romans. Their spirit was intrepid; yet such is the uncertainty of courage, that the two armies were suddenly struck with a panic; they fied from each other, and the rival kings remained with their guards in the midst of an empty plain. A short truce was obtained; but their mutual resentment again kindled; and the remembrance of their shame rendered the next encounter more desperate and bloody. Forty thousand of the barbarious perished in the decisive hattle, which broke the power of the Gepide, transferred the fears and wishes of Justinian, and first displayed the character of Alboin, the youthful prince of the Lombards, and the future conqueror of Italy."

The wild people who dwelt or wandered in the Tae Schaplains of Russia, Lithuania, and Poland, might be reduced, in the age of Justinian, under the two great families of the BULGARIANS and the SCLAVONIANS. According to the Greek writers,

^{\$ 1} keys word, without undertaking to remorde, the farte in firecopius, (Gatt. L B. c. 16) t ill, c. 23, 36; Lis, c. 18, 25); Paul Discount, the Gestis Languaged, i. i. c. 1-27, in Marchest, Sories. Blarom Italianum, tum. t. p. 405-419, and Jornantes, ole fineren. Regnorum, p. 266). The papent mader may dress some light from Muscon, (Hist. of the Germans, and Amount. axill), and de Bint, (Hist. der Propies, &c. turn it; r. wi).

¹³ subjet the oppolistion of Billionium, own Knowley, its Princip. Theodorat, Opp. Sirmond, tens. i, p. 1266, 14569; Jacondes, (de Robus Gelien, c. 5, p. 174, pt da Roga, Successione, p. 242); Throphones, ip. 183), and the Oricontes of Carefflication and Marrellinas. The name of Home is too capacy the tribes of the Posturgertians and Officer same are too moute and too fabili-

the former, who touched the Euxine and the take Macotis, derived from the Huns their name or descent; and it is needless to renew the simple and well-known picture of Tartar manners. They were hold and dexterous archers, who drank the milk, and feasted on the flesh of their fleet and indefatigable horses; whose flocks and herds followed, or rather guided, the motions of their roving camps; to whose arroads no country was remote or impervious, and who were practised in flight, though incapable of fear. The nation was divided into two powerful and hostile tribes, who pursued each other with fraternal hatred. - They cagerly disputed the friendship or rather the gifts of the emperor; and the distinction which nature had fixed between the fuithful dog and the rupacious welf, was applied by an aminasador who received only verbal instructions from the mouth of his illiterate prince." The Bulgarians, of whatsoever species, were equally attracted by Roman wealth; they assumed a vague dominion over the Sclavonian name, and their rapid nurches could only be stopped by the Baltic sea, or the extreme cold and poverty of the north. But the same race of Schronians appears to have maintained, in every age, the possession of the same countries. Their mimerous tribes, however distant or adverse, used one common language, (it was harsh and irregular), and were known by the resemblance of their form, which deviated from

Principles, (Guth, L. iv., c. 19). His vicilal message the owns, himself on illuments incharrant to delivered as an epoch. The replications are all epochs, figuration, and pregnation.

the swarthy Tartar, and approached, without attaining the lafty stature, and fair complexion of the German. Four thousand six hundred villages" were scattered over the provinces of Russia and Poland, and their hots were hastily built of rough timber, in a country deficient both in stone and from Erected, or rather concealed, in the depth of forests, on the banks of civers, or the edge of morasses, we may not perhaps, without finttery, compare them to the architecture of the beaver; which they resembled in a double issue, to the land and water, for the escape of the savage inhabitant, un animal less cleanly, leavailligent, and less social, than that marvellous quadrupede. The fertility of the soil, rather than the labour of the natives, supplied the rustic plenty of the Sclavonians. Their sheep and horned cattle were large and numerous, and the fields which they sowed with miller and panie. ufforded, in the place of bread, a coarse and lesnutritive food. The incessant capine of their neighbours compelled them to bury this treasure in the earth; but on the appearance of a stranger. it was freely imparted by a people, whose un-

^{*} This sum is the could of a particular but, it a corrors Ms. it as ment of the year 150, faund in the library of Mann. The billion geography of the simms provokes and start on the partners of the count of fluids (0 ms. 1), p. 65-18%. The litrary out start of the same homest in a middenness which requires a Saxon and Pottole grain.

Painting surface. See Calemella, i. to v. 8, p. 4.24, with Green's Paint Hat. Nature, 874, 25, 25. The Samuellate made a paper include amounted with enterty mills at blood. In the country of modern facetomers, our number tools pruttyp, and not become Secretarial distances, of money and Miller.

XLII.

CHAP. favourable character is qualified by the epithets of chaste, patient, and hospitable. As their supreme god, they adored an invisible master of the thunder. The rivers and the nymphs obtained their subordinate honours, and the popular worship was expressed in yows and sacrifice. The Sclavonians disdained to obey a despot, a prince, or even a magistrate; but their experience was too narrow, their pasions too headstrong, to compose a system of equal law or general defence. Some voluntary respect was yielded to age and valour; but each tribe or village existed as a separate republic, and all must be persuaded where none could be compelled. They fought on foot, almost naked, and, except an unwieldy shield, without any defensive armour; their weapons of offence were a bow, a quiver of small poisoned arrows, and a long rope, which they dexterously threw from a distance, and entangled their enemy in a running noose. In the field, the Sclavonian infantry was dangerous by their speed, ngility, and hardiness; they swam, they dived, they remained under water, drawing their breaththrough a hollow cane; and a river or lake was often the scene of their unsuspected ambuscade. But these were the schievements of spics or strugglers; the military art was unknown to the Sciavonians; their name was obscure, and their conquests were inglorious?

^{*} For the quite and cathes, the admitting and manpers, of the Scinvorians, see the original syldence of the vith century, in Frompius, (Goth, L. B. c. 26; I. M. r. 14), and the emperor Manridon or Manries, Christman, Co. Co. C. Christman,

I have marked the faint and general outline Chay. of the Sclavonians and Bulgarians, without at- XLII. tempting to define their intermediate boundaries, They inwhich were not accurately known, or respected, reals by the barbarians themselves. Their importonce was measured by their vicinity to the empire; and the level country of Moldavia and Walnehin was occupied by the Antes, a Sciavonian tribe, which swelled the titles of Justinian with an epithet of conquest." Against the Antes be crected the fortifications of the Lower Danube : and laboured to secure the alliance of a people scated in the direct channel of northern inundation, an interval of two bundred miles between the mountains of Trausylvania and the Euxine sea. But the Antes wanted power and inclination to stem the fury of the torrent: and the light-armed Sclavonians, from an hundred tribes, pursued with almost equal speed the footsteps of the Bulgarian home The payment of one piece of gold for each soldier, procured a safe and easy retreat through the country of the Gepide, who commanded the

(Strateground, L. H. e. S., april Marriet, Annual, exells. The Strategroup of Maurice have been printed only, as I understand, at the end of Schoffler's edition of Africa's Tactice, at Uputt, 1883, (Fallele, Rustice, Grom, L. Iv., a. S., mets. III., p. 278, a securet, and birthesto, tie me, an inaccessible book.

4 Antes corton fortissimi Tayale qui rapidus et verticome in Hintel Streets forcers devolvitur, (Jurumalta, c. 5, p. 199, cait. Minstor. Procopius, Goth. L. ili, c. 16, at de Edille. L. iv, c. 7). Yet the same Proposition mentions the Goths and Huma an neighbours, possessess, to the Dioube, ide Edific. b in, e-lie.

* The national title of Astiene, in the laws and important of Juntinian, was adopted by his successors, and is justified by the plant Ludowig, On Vir. Junimian. p. \$15). It had arrangely persied the syrillans of the middle age.

passage of the Upper Danube. The hopes or fears of the burbarians; their intestine union or discord; the accident of a frozen or shallow stream; the prospect of harvest or vintage; the prosperity or distress of the Romans; were the causes which produced the uniform repetition of annual visits,' tedious in the narrative, and deatructive in the event. The same year, and possibly the same month, in which Ravenua surrendered, was marked by an invasion of the Huns or Bulgarium, so dreadful, that it almost effaced the memory of their past inroads. They spread from the suburbs of Constantinople to the Ionian gulf, destroyed thirty-two cities or castles, cruzed Potidge, which Athens had built and Philip had besieged, and repassed the Danube, dragging at their horses beels one hundred and twenty thousand of the subjects of Justinian. In a subsequent inroad they pierced the wall of the Thracian Chersonesus, extirpated the habitations and the inhabitants, boldly traversed the Hellaspont; and returned to their companions, hulen with the spoils of Asia. Another party, which seemed a multitude in the eves of the Romans, penetrated, without opposition, from the straits of Thermopylas to the isthmus of Corinth; and the last ruin of Greece has appeared an object too minute for the attention of history. The works which the emperor raised for the protection,

ASSESSED BY THE PARTY OF THE PA

[.] Promptus, Gath, L. Iv. v. 23.

^{*} An invest of the Huss is easy extent by Principles, with a commity perhaps that of Sil, (Perile, L by c. 4). Againtus (L v. p. 136, 133) became from his predictions some early fasts.

but at the expence, of his subjects, served only CHAP. to disclose the weakness of some neglected part; XLIL and the walls, which, by flattery, had been deemed impregnable, were either deserted by the garrison, or scaled by the barbarians. Three thousand Schwmians, who insolently divided themselves into two hands, discovered the weakness and misery of a triumphant reign. They passed the Danube and the Helcus, vanquished the Roman generals who dared to oppose their progress, and plandered, with impanity, the cities of Illyricum and Thrace, each of which had arms and numbers to overwhelm their contemptible assailants. Whatever proise the boldness of the Sclavonians may deserve, it is suffied by the wanton and deliberate cruelty which they are accused of exercising on their prisoners. Without distinction of rank, or age, or sex, the captives were impaled or flayed alive, or suspended between four posts, and beaten with clubs till they expired, or inclused in some spacious building, and left to perish in the flames with the spoil and cattle which might impede the murch of these savage victors." Perhaps a more impartial narrative would reduce the number, and qualify the nature, of these horrid acts; and they might sometimes be excused by the cruel laws of retaliation. In the siege of Topirus, whose

[.] The crustics of the Science law suited or conjusted by Proregion, (Goth, t. iii. c. 25, 38). For their mild and liberal behaviour to their prisoners, we may appeal to the natheauty, somewhat score recent, of the empires Manries, (Strategest, I, 31) c. D.

^{*} Topicus was structe must Philippi in Thrace, or Macrelonia, opposite in the late of Theore, swelve days journey from Countentiamete, (Cellarius, from L. S. 67%, 840)-

Stat.

obstinate defence had enraged the Schwonians, they massacred fifteen thousand males; but they spared the women and children; the most valuable captives were always reserved for labour or ransom; the servitude was not rigorous, and the terms of their deliverance were speedy and moderate. But the subject, or the historian of Justinian, exhaled his just indignation in the language of complaint and reproach; and Procopins has confidently affirmed, that in a reign of thirty-two years, each annual inroad of the barbarians consumed two hundred thousand of the inhabitants of the Roman empire. The entire population of Turkish Europe, which nearly corresponds with the provinces of Justinian, would perhaps be incapable of supplying six millions of persons, the result of this incredible estimate.

Origin and manifely of the Turks in Asis, A. D. 343, &c.

In the midst of these obscure calamities, Europe felt the shock of a revolution, which first revealed to the world the name and nation of the Tunks. Like Romulus, the founder of that martial people was suckled by a she-wolf, who afterwards made him the father of a numerous progony; and the representation of that animal in the banners of the Turks preserved the memory, or rather suggested the idea, of a fable, which was invented, without any mutual intercourse, by the shepherds of Latinm and those of Scythia. At the equal distance of two thousand miles from the Cuspian, the Icy, the Chinese, and the Bengal

A Armeding to the numberation continuous of the Assertation, on 181; Quest specific had endmed the provinces, smile of the Domine, to the State of a Scythian wildernma.

was, a ridge of mountains is conspicuous, the CHAP, centre, and perhaps the summit, of Asia; which, XI-II in the language of different nations, has been styled Imaus, and Caf, and Altai, and the Golden Mountains, and the Girdle of the Earth. The sides of the hills were productive of minerals; and the iron forges," for the purpose of war, were exercised by the Turks, the most despised portion of the slaves of the great khan of the Geougen. But their servitude could only last till a lender, hold and eloquent, should arise, to pursuade his countrymen that the same wms which they forged for their masters, might become, in their own hands, the instruments of freedom and victory. They sailind from the mountain; a sceptre was the reward of his advice; and the annual ceremony, in which a

[·] From Chi to Cafe which a more retional improphry would below per from found, perhaps, to mount Aftis. According to the fel-Come philosophy of the Mahmutters, the busis of miner Call is not emerall, whose reflection parathers the aguse of the sky. The resumtake is endowed with a requiring action by his mosts or univers and their selection, at the command of God, is the sense of carthquare, (D'Herbelet, p. Titt, 231).

[.] The Siterian ison is the best and most plentiful in the world; and he the southern parts, above exty mines are now wonted by the influency of the Bulliams, chimblendary, Illas, of Silverta, p. 342, 257. Voyaga en Sileria, per l'Abbé Chappe d'Autoroche, p. 403-604, effe, in 12ms, Amsterdam, 1770). The Tooks offered from for sale ; 50: the Batton ambastadays, with strongs obstinacy, presisted in believing that it was all a trick, and that their abouty rendered more. (Menander in Excerpt Leg. p. 157).

Of Irguns-Ann. (Abulghari Khen, Het. Geneslingtque des Tutare, P. H. & S. p. 71-771 c. 15, p. 155). The tradition of the Magnet, of the AN years which they passed in the quantities, agrees with the Chinese periods of the history of the Harm and Turks, the Guignen, tons. I, part 0, p. \$15), and the twenty generations, from their removation to Zingia.

XLII.

CHAP, piece of iron was heated in the fire, and a smith's hammer was successively handled by the prince and his nobles, recorded for ages the humble profession and rational pride of the Turkish nation. Bertezena, their first leader, signalized their valour and his own in successful combuts against the neighbouring tribes; but when he presumed to ask in marriage the daughter of the great khan, the insolent demand of a slave and a mechanic was contemptuously rejected. The disgrace was explated by a more noble alliance with a princess of China; and the decisive battle which almost extirpated the nation of the Geougen, established in Tartary the new and more powerful empire of the Turks. They reigned over the north; but they confessed the vanity of compaest, by their faithful attuchment to the mountain of their fathers. The royal encampment seldum lost sight of mount Altai, from whence the river Irtish deseemls to water the rich pastures of the Calmucks, which nourish the largest sheep and oxen in the world. The soil is fruitful, and the climate mild and temperate: the happy region was ignorant of earthquake and pestilence; the emperor's throne was turned towards the east, and a golden wolf on the top of a spent seemed to guard the entrance of his tent. One of the successors of Bertezenn was tempted by

^{*} The country of the Torks, more of the Californite, in wall describe ed in the Genenlogical History, p. 521-302. The curious motor of the French translator are enlarged and digestal in the event on lime of the English various

the luxury and superstition of China; but his CHAP. design of building cities and temples was defeat- XLII: ed by the simple wisdom of a barbarian counsellor. " The Turks," he said, " are not equal " in number to one hundredth part of the in-" habitants of Chioa. If we balance their " power, and clude their armies, it is because " we wander without any fixed habitations, in " the exercise of war and hunting. Are we " strong? we advance and conquer; are we " feeble? we retire and are concealed. Should " the Turks confine themselves within the walls " of cities, the loss of a battle would be the "destruction of their empire. The Bonzes " preach only patience, lumility, and the re-"munciation of the world. Such. O king! is " not the religion of heroes." They entertained with less reluctance the doctrines of Zoronster; but the greatest part of the nation acquiesced, without inquiry, in the opinions, or rather in the practice, of their ancestors. The honours of sacrifice were reserved for the supreme deity; they acknowledged, in rude hymns, their obligations to the nir, the fire, the water, and the corth; and their priests derived some profit from the art of divination. Their unwritten laws were rigorous and impartial: theft was punished by a tenfold restitution: whiltery, trusson, and murder, with death; and no chastisement could be inflicted too severe for the rare and inexpiable guilt of cowardico. As the subject nations marched under the standard of the Turks, their cavalry, both men and bors s, were

NLIL

proudly computed by millions; one of their effective armies consisted of four hundred thousand soldiers, and in less than fifty years they were connected in peace and war with the Romans, the Persians, and the Chinese. In their northern limits, some vestige may be discovered of the form and situation of Kamtchatks, of a people of hunters and fishermen, whose sledges were drawn by dogs, and whose habitations were buried in the earth. The Turks were ignorant of astronomy: but the observation taken by some learned Chinese, with a gnomon of eight feet, fixes the royal camp in the latitude of forty-nine degrees, and marks their extreme progress within three, or at least ten degrees, of the polar circle.4 Among their southern conquests, the most splendid was that of the Nepthalites or White Huns, a polite and warlike people, who possessed the commercial cities of Bochara and Samarcand, who had vanquished the Persian monarch, and carried their victorious arms along the banks, and perhaps to the mouth, of the Indus. On the side of the west, the Turkish cavalry advanced to the lake Maotis. They passed that lake on the ice. The khan who dwelt at the foot of mount Altai, issued his commands for the siege of Bosphorus," a city, the voluntary subject of Rome, and whose princes had formerly been the friends of

^{*} Visition p. 141, 151. The fact, though it strictly belongs to a submilimate and successive teller, may be introduced better

^{*} Promptes, Persic L i, c. 10; L ii, n. S. Pepsessud (Observations six les Peoples Backers, p. 59, 100) defines the distance between Coffe and the old Respictors at axi long Tarrar longues.

CHAP. X1.11.

Athens.' To the east, the Turks invaded China. as often as the vigour of the government was relaxed; and I am taught to read in the history of the times, that they moved down their patient enemies like hemp or grass; and that the mandarins applicated the wisdom of an emperor who cenulsed these barbarians with golden lances. This extent of savage empire compelled the Turkish monarch to establish three subordinate princes of his own blood, who soon forgot their gratitude and allegiance. The conquerors were enervated by luxuey, which is always faint except to an industrious people; the policy of China solicited the vanquished authors to resume their independence; and the power of the Turks was limited to a period of two landred years. The revival of their name and dominlow in the southern countries of A sin, are the events of a later ager and the dynasties, which succeeded to their native realms, may sleep in oblivion; since their history bears no relation to the discline and fall of the Roman empire.

In the rapid career of conquest, the Torks at- The Arms tacked and subdued the nation of the Ogors or on Tacks, Varchonites on the banks of the river Til, which and ap-

empire.

F. San, In a Memoir of Milds Hitts, (Mess. He l'Academie des Innerta-Name, home, wit po. 5588-5559, the accident knows and medials of the Commeman Borphorne's and the gratitude of Athena, in the Occion of Dynamics change, galdet Ligation, the Brings, Ocume, Groen tonn, I, p. 406, Anth.

We the origin and regulations of the fest Turkich empire, the Chiese details are torrowed from De Gutgues, clips, des Ithin, tions I, P. H. p. 307-4075, and Visition, effortioned 6 in Bellion of the Oriented Restricts p. 42-114; The Good or Remed Consum patters. ed in Managher, 13th 108-1615; cost, Postude are Ministrating, (5) vil.

CHAP. derived the epithet of black from its dark water or gloomy forests." The khan of the Ogors was slain with three hundred thousand of his subjects, and their bodies were scattered over the space of four days journey; their surviving countrymen acknowledged the strength and mercy of the Turks; and a small portion, about twenty thousand warriors, preferred exile to servitude. They followed the well-known road or the Volga, cherished the error of the nations who confounded them with the Avans, and spread the terror of that false though famous appellation, which had not, however, saved its lawful proprietors from the yoke of the Turks. After a long and victorious murch, the new Avars arrived at the foot of mount Caucasus, in the country of the Alani and Circussians, where they first heard of the splendour and weakness of the Roman empire. They humbly requested their confederate, the prince of the Alimi, to lead them to this source of riches; and their ambassador, with the permission of the go-

The river Til, or Tills, arounding to the gargerphy of De Guight. (toma i, part il, p. letti and 35%), is a small through grateful stream of the direct, that falls into the Orlion, Sellings, &c. See Bell, Journey five. Petersburgh to Pekin, (you if, p. 198) ; get his own description of the Kent, down which for subof into the Oby, organizate the name and attrinutes of the black error, (p. 130).

Theographer, L. vil., c. 7, 8. And yet his true Avair on invisible rece to the eyes of M. de Goignes; and what can be more distancethan the false? The right of the fugition Ogers to that sublend uppallation is conferred by the Turks thumselves, (Mammiller, p. 108).

^{*} The Altho are still found in the Generalogical History of the Tanturn in filth, and he d'Anville's imps. They opposed the much of the generals of Zingle round the Casplen ma, and were weerthrown in a great battle, (Hist. & Gengiovan, & iv, c. 9, p. 667).

Vernor of Luzica, was transported by the Euxine CHAP. sen to Constantinople: The whole city was poured XLII. forth to behold with curiesity and terror the aspect of a strange people; their long hair which hung in tresses down their backs, was gracefully bound with ribbons, but the rest of their habit appeared to imitate the fashion of the Huns. When they the they have to were admitted to the audience of Justinian, Can- commidish, the first of the ambassadors, addressed the h.D. 503. Roman emperor in these terms.-" You see be-" fore you, O mighty prince, the representatives " of the strongest and most populous of nations, " the invincible, the irresistible Avars. We are " willing to devote ourselves to your service : we " are able to vanquish and destroy all the enemies "who now disturb your repose. But we expect, " as the price of our alliance, as the reward of " our valour, precious gifts, annual subsidies, and " fruitful possessions." At the time of this embassy, Justinian had reigned above thirty, he had lived above seventy-five years; his mind, as well as his body, was feeble and languid; and the conqueror of Africa and Italy, careless of the permanent interest of his people, aspired only to end his days in the bosom even of inglorious peace. In a studied oration, he imparted to the senate his resolution to dissemble the insult, and to purchase the friendship of the Avars; and the whole senate, like the mandarine of China, applanded the incomparable wisdom and foresight of their sovereign. The instruments of luxury were immediately prepared to captivate the barbarians : silken garments, soft and splendid beds, and chains

and collars incrusted with gold. The ambassadors, content with such liberal reception, departed from Constantinople, and Valentin, one of the emperor's guards, was sent with a similar character to their camp at the foot of mount Cancusus. As their destruction or their success must be alike advantageous to the empire, he persuaded them to invade the enemies of Rome; and they were easily tempted, by gifts and promises, to gratify their ruling inclinations. These tugitives, who fled before the Turkish arms, passed the Tannis and Borysthenes, and holdly advanced into the heart of Poland and Germany, violating the law of nations, and abusing the rights of victory. Before ten years had elapsed, their camps were scated on the Danube and the Elbe, many Bulgarian and Sclavonian names were obliterated from the earth, and the remainder of their tribes are found, as tributuries and vassals, under the standard of the Avars. The chagan, the peculiar title of their king, still affected to cultivate the friendship of the emperer; and Justinian entertained some thoughts of fixing them in Pannonia, to balance the prevailing power of the Lambards. But the virtue or treachery of an Avar betrayed the secret enmity and ambitious designs of their countrymen; and they loudly complained of the timid, though jealous policy, of detaining their ambassadors, and denying the arms which they had been allowed to purchase in the capital of the empire.

The embusies and first conquents of the Arms may be read in Manager, (figurest, Legat. p. 19, 100, 101, 154, 155); Theophones, (p. 190); the Historia Miscella, (f. 321, p. 109), and Gregory of Terra, (f. 17, c. 25, 16, in the Historian of France, turn. ii, p. 214, 217)

Perhaps the apparent change in the dispositions of the emperors, may be ascribed to the embassy which was received from the conquerors of the Embrane Avars." The immense distance, which eluded of the their arms, could not extinguish their resentment; Romanno the Turkish ambassadors pursued the footsteps 252. of the vanquished to the Jaik, the Volga, mount Caucasus, the Euxine, and Constantinople, and at length appeared before the successor of Constantine, to request that he would not espouse the cause of rebels and fugitives. Even commerce had some share in this remarkable negotiation: and the Sogdoites, who were now the tributaries of the Turks, embraced the fair occasion of opening, by the north of the Caspian, a new road for the importation of Chinese silk into the Roman empire. The Persian, who preferred the navigation of Ceylon, had stopped the caravans of Bochars and Samarcand: their silk was contemptuously hurnt: some Turkish ambassadors died in Persia, with a suspicion of poison; and the great khan permitted his faithful vassal Maniach, the prince of the Sogdoltes, to propose, at the Bygantine court, a treaty of alliance against their common enemies. Their splendid apparel and rich presents, the fruit of oriental luxury, distinguished Maniach and his colleagues, from the rude savages of the north: their letters, in the Seythian character and language, announced a

CHAP. XLII. *******

[&]quot; Thomphores, (Chron, p. 204), and the Hise, Mountle, the art, p. 110), as ambrestood by De Gaignes, Gam, I, part II, p. 254), appear to small of a Turkish embassy to Justinian alimetic but that of Hatilich, in the fourth year of his aucresor Justin, is positively the feet that reached Constantinopie, (Manader, p. 168).

people who had attained the rudiments of science. they commerated the conquests, they offered the friendship and military aid of the Turks; and their sincerity was attested by direful imprecations (if they were guilty of falsehood) against their own head, and the head of Disabul their The Greek prince entertained with hospitable regard the ambassadors of a remote and powerful monarch: the sight of alle worms and looms disappointed the hopes of the Sogdoites; the emperor renounced, or seemed to renounce, the fugitive Avars, but he accepted the alliance of the Turks; and the ratification of the treaty was carried by a Roman minister to the foot of mount Altal. Under the successors of Justinian, the friendship of the two nations was cultivated by frequent and cordial interemirse; the most favoured vassals were permitted to imitate the example of the great khan, and one hundred and six Turks, who, on various occasions, had visited Constantinople, Reparted at the same time for their native country. The duration and length of the journey from the By--zantine court to mount Altai, are not specified; it might have been difficult to mark a road through the nameless deserts, the mountains, rivers, and morasses of Tartary; but a curious account has been preserved of the reception of the Roman aubassadors at the royal camp. After they had been

The Rossians have found characters, sude hieraphyldics, on the Istade and Yenjack, on module, former, inets, rocket abstract, &c (Strandenberg, Hurn of Siberia, p. 574, 544, 400, 449°s. Dr. Hyde (the Helighens Ventrum Persaums, p. 571, &c) has given two alphabets of Uniber and of the Tygones. I have keep the bound a computer that all the Stythian, and seem, purhaps sends, of the Indian serious was derived from the Greeks of Battrians.

purified with fire and incense, according to a rite CHAP. still practised under the sons of Zingis, they were introduced to the presence of Disabul. In a valley of the Golden Mountain, they found the great khan in his tent, scated in a chair with wheels, to which an horse might be occasionally harnessed. As soon as they had delivered their presents, which were received by the proper officers, they exposed, in a florid oration, the wishes of the Roman emperor, that victory might attend the arms of the Turks, that their reign might be long and prosperous, and that a strict alliance, without envy or deceit, might for ever be maintained between the two most powerful nations of the earth. The answer of Disabul corresponded with these friendly professions, and the umbassadors were scated by his side, at a banquet which lasted the greatest part of the day : the tent was surrounded with silk hangings, and a tartar liquor was served on the table, which possessed at least the intoxicating qualities of wine. The entertainment of the succeeding day was more sumptuous; the silk hangings of the second tent were embroidered in various figures; and the royal seat, the cups, and the vases, were of gold. A third pavilion was supported by columns of gilt wood; a bed of pure and massy gold was raised on four peacocks of the same metal; and before the entrance of the tent, dishes, basons, and statues of solid silver, and admirable art, were ostentationally piled in waggons, the monuments of valour rather than of industry. When Disabul led his armies against the frontiers of Persia, his Roman ullies

followed many days the march of the Turkish camp, nor were they dismissed till they had enjoyed their precedency over the envoy of the great king, whose foud and intemperate clamours interrupted the silence of the royal banquet. The power and ambition of Chosroes cemented the union of the Turks and Romans, who touched his dominions on either side: but those distant nations, regardless of each other, consulted the dictates of interest, without recollecting the obligations of onthand treaties. While the successor of Disabul celebrated his father's obsequies, he was saluted by the ambassadors of the emperor Tiberius, who proposed an invasion of Persia, and sustained with firmness, the angry, and perhaps the just, reproaches of that hanglity barbarian. "You see my " ten fingers," said the great khan, and he applied them to his mouth, "You Romans speak with " as many tongues, but they are tongues of deceit " and perjury. To me you hold one language, " to my subjects another; and the nations are suc-" cessively delided by your perfidious eloquence. "You precipitate your allies into war and danger, " you edjoy their labours, and you neglect your " benefactors. Hasten your return, inform your " master that a Turk is incapable of uttering " or forgiving falsehood, and that he shall speed-" ily meet the punishment which he deserves. " While he solicits my friendship with flattering and hollow words, he is sunk to a confeder-" ate of my fugitive Varchouites. If I conde-" seemd to march against those contemptible " slaves, they will tremble at the sound of our

" whips; they will be trampled, like a nest of CHAP. " nots, under the feet of my innumerable cavalry. Xiii. "I am not ignorant of the coad which they have " followed to invade your empire; nor can I be " decrived by the vain pretence, that mount Cau-" casus is the impregnable barrier of the Ro-" mans. I know the course of the Niester, the " Duoube, and the Flehrus; the most warlike " nations have yielded to the arms of the Turks; " and from the rising to the setting sun, the earth " is my inheritance." Notwithstanding this menace, a sense of mutual advantage soon renewed the alliance of the Turks and Romanus but the pride of the great khan survived his resentment: and when he announced an important conquest to his friend the emperor Maurice, he styled himself the muster of the seven races, and the lord of the seven climates of the world?

Disputes have often arisen between the save. Sum of reigns of Asin, for the title of king of the world; A. D. 500. while the contest has proved that it could not belong to either of the competitors. The kingdom of the Turks was bounded by the Oxus or Gihon; and Touran was suparated by that great river from the rival monarchy of Iran, or Persia, which, in a smaller compass, contained perhaps a larger measure of power and population. The Persians, who alternately invaded and repulsed the Turks and the Romans, were still ruled by the

[&]quot; All the details of these Torkish and Rieman embassion, no ourlous in the blivery of bosons manners are drawn from the Cascacte of Marmoder, op 100-110, 134-434, 183-1949, or which we often regree he want of order not connection.

house of Sassan, which ascended the throne three hundred years before the accession of Justinian. His contemporary, Cabades, or Kobad, had been successful in war against the emperor Anastasins; but the reign of that prince was distracted by civil and religious troubles. A prisoner in the hands of his subjects; an exile among the enemies of Persia; he recovered his liberty by prostituting the honour of his wife, and regained his kingdom with the dangerous and mercenary aid of the burbarians, who had slain his father. His nobles were suspicious that Kobad never forgave the authors of his expulsion, or even those of his restoration. The people was deluded and inflamed by the fanaticism of Mazdak? who asserted the community of women, and the equality of mankind, whilst he approprinted the richest lands and most beautiful females to the use of his secturies. The view of these disorders, which had been fomented by his laws and example," embittered the declining age of the Persian monarch; and his fears were increased by the consciousness of his design to reverse the natural and customary order of succes-

r Sec of Herischet, (Milliott, Orient, p. 588, 928;; Hyde, (dr Religione Vet, Persanum, c. 21, p. 250, 291); Possek, (Spreamen Hist, Arab, p. 10, 21); Entychica, (Annell Som. S. p. 170;; Tetrita, On Statens, Hist, of Persia, t. C. et 31).

The farm of the age live for the community of woman exceeds acceptance for the Syrie (Assessment Hilliam Octors, from III., p. 402) and foretree (Princips Person I. I. C. II.

He offered his own with and eleter to the propher; but the proper of Northern seved his mother, and the findigenest arometic sever foreign the hombits of to which has slind party had somped; pader time a flatter, result he to Mardally, called factor adding many decayed, it was by

XLIL.

sion, in favour of his third and most favoured son, so famous under the names of Chostoes and Nushirvan. To render the youth more illustrious in the eyes of the nations, Kobad was desirous that he should be adopted by the emperor Justin: the hope of peace inclined the Byzantine court to accept this singular proposal; and Chosroes might have acquired a specious claim to the inheritance of his Roman parent. But the future mischief was diverted by the advice of the questor Proclus: a difficulty was started, whether the adoption should be performed as a civil or military rite; the treaty was abruptly dissolved; and the sense of this indignity sunk deep into the mind of Chosroes, who had already advanced to the Tigris on his road to Constantinople, His father did not long survive the disappointment of his wishes; the testament of their deceased sovereign was read in the assembly of the nobles; and a powerful faction, prepared for the event, and regardless of the priority of age, exalted Chosroes to the throne of Persia. He filled that throne during a prosperous period of forty-eight years I and the Justice of Nushir-

^{*} Promptes, Permit is t. c. 17. We not Product over-wise? Was not the danger imaginary !— The carrier, at heart, was injurious to a million not ignorum: of interest a granular of daylage on scale, secured as a backer store. Whether any made of adoption one procled in Permi, I much dealer.

^{*} From Processon and Againles, Fagt time, a, p. 249, 620) has preved that Chamber Noshirum mended the throno in the oth year of Jineinium, (A. D. 531, April I.-A. H. 538, April I.- Hin the true altramation, which introduces with the Gereke and Orientale, is so-contained by John Mulale, Omn. 6, 211). Calendes, or Kubad, after a reign of finity-three years and two months, sinks and the 9th, and died

XLIL

Reign of Nuchircan, or Charges, A. D. 581-570. van is celebrated as the theme of immortal praise by the nations of the East.

But the justice of kings is understood by themselves, and even by their subjects, with an ample indulgence for the gratification of passion and interest. The virtue of Chosroes was that of a conqueror, who, in the measures of peace and war, is excited by ambition and restrained by prudence; who confounds the greatness with the happiness of a nation, and calmly devotes the lives of thousands to the fame, or even the amusement, of a single man. In his domestic administration, the just Nushirvan would merit, in our feelings, the appellation of a tyrant. His two elder brothers had been deprived of their fair expectations of the diadem : their future life, between the supreme rank and the condition of subjects, was anxious to themselves and formidable to their master: fear as well as revenge might tempt them to rebel; the slightest evidence of a conspiracy satisfied the author of their wrongs; and the repose of Chesroes was secured by the death of these unhappy princes, with their families and adherents. One guiltless youth was saved and dismissed by the compassion of a veteran general; and this act of humanity, which was revealed by his son, overbalanced the merit of reducing twelve nations to the obedience of Persia. The zeni and prudence of Mebodes had fixed the diadem on the head of Chosroes bimalf; but he delayed to nitend the royal sum-

Are Little of September, A. D. 531, again sightly-two years. According to the annula of Easty-hairs. Numbers on good forty-seven years and six months; and his death must assequently be placed in March A.D. 570.

mons, till he had performed the duties of a mi- Char. litary review: he was instantly commanded to XLIL repair to the iron tripod, which stood before the gate of the palace," where it was death to relieve or approach the victim; and Mebodes languished several days before his sentence was pronounced, by the inflexible pride and calm ineratitude of the son of Kobad. But the people, more especially in the East, is disposed to forgive, and even to applaud, the cruelty which strikes at the loftiest heads; at the slaves of anibition, whose voluntary choice has exposed them to live in the smiles, and to perish by the frown, of a capricious monarch, in the execution of the laws which he had no temptation to violate; in the punishment of crimes which attacked his own dignity, as well as the happiness of individuals; Nushirvan, or Chosroes, deserved the appellation of hat. His government was firm, rigorous, and importial. It was the first labour of his reign to abolish the dangerous theory of common or equal possessions; the lands and women which the sectories of Mazdak had usurped, were restored to their lawful owners; and the temperate chastisement of the faunties or impostors confirmed the domestic rights of society. Instead of listening with blind confidence to a favourite minister, he established four viniers over the four great provinces of his empire: Assyria, Media, Persia, and Bactriana. In the choice of judges, prefacts,

^{*} Principles, Person L. J. o. Bil. Brimer de Regu. Pers. p. 494. The gate of the puters of Ispation Is, or was, the fatal occur of days green or death, albundes, Voyage on Pirot, torn, iv, p. 219, 315;

KLIL

and counsellors, he strove to remove the mask which is always worn in the presence of kings; he wished to substitute the natural order of talents for the accidental distinctions of birth and fortune; he professal, in specious language, his intention to prefer those men who carried the poor in their hosoms, and to bunish corruption from the seat of justice, as dags were excluded from the temples of the Magic The code of laws of the first Artaxorxes was revived and published as the rule of the magistrates; but the assurance of speedy punishment was the best scenrity of their virtne. Their behaviour was inspected by a thousand eyes, their words were overheard by a thousand ears, the secret or public agents of the throne; and the provinces, from the Indian to the Arabian confines, were enlightened by the frequent visits of a sovereign, who affected to emulate his celestial brother in his rapid and salutary career. Education and agriculture he viewed as the two objects most deserving of his care. In every city of Persia, orphans and the children of the poor were maintained and dustructed at the public expence; the daughters were given in murriage to the richest citizens of their own rank; and the sons, according to their different talents, were employed in mechanic trades, or promoted to more honourable service. The deserted villages were relieved by his bounty; to the peasants and farmers who were found incupable of cultivating their lands, he distributed cattle, seed, and the instruments of husbandry; and the rare and inestimable treasure of fresh water was paraimoniously managed and skilfully dispersed over the arid-ter- CHAP. ritory of Persia. The prosperity of that kingdom was the effect and the evidence of his virtues; his vices are those of oriental despotism; but in the long competition between Choscoes and Justinian, the advantage both of merit and fortune is almost always on the side of the Lughavian.2

To the praise of justice Nushievan united the melow of reputation of knowledge; and the seven Greek bearing. philosophers, who visited his court, were invited and deceived by the strange assurance, that a disciple of Plato was scated an the Persim throne. Did they expect that a prince, strenuously exercised in the toils of war and government, should agitate; with dexterity like their own, the abstruse and profound questions which amused the leisure of the schools of Athens? Could they hope that the precents of philosophy should direct the life, and controll the passions, of a despot, whose infancy had been taught to consider his absolute and fluctuating

* De Parsia, the prince of the waters is an officer of state. The compare of wells and emitterements change in much dimensional, and with it the feetility of the mile ACO wells have been recently had reser Tambe, and \$2,000 seem once submed lightly province of Elements, Chardin tem, in, p. 59, 100. Terminir, tem I, p. 107a.

^{*} The alternative and presumment Studieses is represented cometimes in the words of d'Harbeitet, (Buillion Orwert, p. 600, dr.: Com-Khapatering | Kisty, San, (Annual, tons, II. p. 179, 18 hovery rights) Abulidarugins, (Dynast. vd. p. 94, 25-bory pow) : Tarikh Schiland, Ap. 184-1807; Territor, the Stations, & & S. S. Sily, Assessment, (Scilist. Ottant tont. His p. 404-410), and the Alus Forment, (Hist. the l'Arest, ther Interruptions, term vit. p. 22.5-2346, who has translated a sportion or greater testament of Nucleiver.

CHAP. will us the only rule of moral obligation?" The Mill studies of Chasroes were estentations and superficial; but his example awakened the curiosity of an ingenious people, and the light of science was diffused over the dominions of Persin." At Gondi Sapor, in the neighbourhood of the royal city of Susa, an academy of physic was founded, which insensibly became a liberal school of poetry, philosophy, and rhetoric." The annals of the monarchy, were composed; and while recent and authentic history might afford some useful lessons both to the prince and people, the darkness of the first ages was embel lished by the giants, the dragons, and the fabulous heroes of oriental romance.4 Every learned

A Change of water before the birth, the junger of Person had given a before appropriate to furthern Duras Coal proper so fickers, (Histeshed I, ill, e. 31, p. 210, edit. Wen-Burg. Nor had this co-singbismul mucrim been neglected as on orthon and learness thingy.

[&]quot;On the library mers of Persia, the Greek versions, philosophery, appliant, the learning of ignorance of Churrent, Agathles (t. ii, r. iii-The displays much information and stress postudious

Assessable Bibliot. Origin, from it, in negative wile will

The Shah Namels, or book of Kings, is perhaps the original record of horory which was transferred time Greek by the tomogreear Sergius, (Agerlius, I. v. p. 141), preserved after the Mahamatun conquest, and veryind in the year 504, by the national part Perdonal. See d'Anquetil, (Mum de l'Arudemin, tom axal, p. 379), and he William James, (Hist. of Nuder Shah, p. 163).

In the enth eminy, the name of Roton or Bassant, an sure who equalled the strength of twelve slephants, the families to the Armenians, (Messa Chorrmense, Hist. Armen. L. S., n. T. p. 56, edit-Whitton.) In the beginning of the seventh, the Persian Romanus of Rostner and Islandiar was applicated as Moore, that's Konzo, or ment, p. 250). Yet this exposition of fadicross many histories in not given by Marmet, Qtefquit: Alteren v. 544-559).

or confident stranger was enriched by the boun- buar. ty, and flattered by the conversation, of the monarch: he nobly rewarded a Greek physician," by the deliverance of three thousand captives; and the sophists who contended for his favour, were examperated by the wealth and insolenceof Uranius, their more successful rival. Nushirvan believed, or at least respected, the religion of the Magi; and some traces of persecution may be discovered in his reign. Yet he allowed himself freely to compare the tenets of the various sects; and the theological disputes in which he frequently presided, diminished the authority of the priest, and enlightened the minds of the people. At his command, the most celebrated writers of Greece and India were translated into the Persian language; a smooth and elegant idiom, recommended by Mahomet to the use of paradise; though it is branded with the epithets of savage and unmusical, by the ignorance and presumption of Agathias. Yet the Greek historian might yeasonably wonder, that it should be found possible to execute an entire

[.] Percent Goth, Livy e. 10. Robal had a farmedia Greek physic tion; Suphun of Editors, (Persic. l. ff. v. 26). The practice was not time; and Merodotor relates the adventures of Democratic of Ceptono. (I. III) & 193-191)-

[&]quot; See Pagi, ross it, p. 626. In one of the treaties an honourable article was improved for the toleration and ferrial of the curbodies, (Menueder, in Enterpt, Lagar, p. 147). Nuthinsel, a see of Nuthierar, was a Christian, a ratel, and-a martyr ? (D'Herbeles, p. 861).

TOn the Paralest language, and its three distants, consult of Austontill, to. 229-247), and Jener, tp. 122-185; t some employer amanesorresponds the character which Agathine (I. ii. p. 66) more day to an fillion renowned in the Rear for portical enfances.

XLII.

version of Plate and Aristotle in a foreign dialect, which had not been framed to express the spirit of freedom and the subtleties of philosophic disquisition. And, if the reason of the Stagyrite might be equally dark, or equally intelligible in every tongue, the dramatic art and verbal argumentation of the disciple of Socrates, appear to be indissolubly mingled with the grace and perfection of his Attic style. In the search of universal knowledge. Nushirvan was informed, that the moral and political fables of Pilpay, an ancient Brachinan, were preserved with jealous reverence among the treasures of the kings of India. The physician Perozes was ascretly despatched to the banks of the Ganges, with instructions to procure, at any price, the communication of this valuable work. His dexterity obtained a transcript, his learned dilligence accomplished the translation; and the tables of Pilpay' were read and admired in the assembly of Nushirvan and his nobles. The Indian original, and the Persian copy, have long since disappeared; but this venerable monument has been

Agathias specifies the Gorgeis, Plenders, Parmanides, and Titimes. Recomplet (Valencies, Bindes, Green, tous will p. 240-261) does not mention this backgrif version of Aristoffs.

Of these fablus, I have seen these septes in three stifferest immagnet—1. In Greek, remainted by Simons Soft CA. D. 1190; from
the Arabid, and published by Sures, at Berlin in 1887, inclining
the In I-ame, a session from the Greek, imported Informati, species
to Free Panson at the real of his admiss of Postsymer, tp. 547-600,
by Prov Panson at the real of his admiss of Postsymer, tp. 547-600,
by Prov Panson at the real of his admiss of Postsymer, tp. 547-600,
by Prov Panson at the real of his admiss of Hardwell, in 140,
to Summa Softman. Combine of Fighter Indianances Hardwell at the Lotton, par M. M. Gulland at Cardonan, Parse, 1778, 3 sale in 1700Mr. Wharton (History of English poetry, etc. b, p. 179-131) takes a
larger toppt.

gaved by the curiosity of the Arabian calipha, re- CHAP. vived in the modern Persic, the Turkish, the Sy- XLU. riac, the Hehrew, and the Greek idioms, and transfused through successive versions into the modern languages of Europe. In their present form, the peculiar character, the manners and religion of the Hindoos, are completely obliterated; and the intrinsic merit of the fables of Pilpay is far inferior to the concise elegance of Phadrus and the native graces of La Fontaine. Fifteen moral and political sentences are Illustrated in a series of apologues; but the composition is intricate, the parrative prolix, and the precent obvious and barren. Yet the Brachman may assume the merit of inventing a pleasing fiction, which adorns the nakedness of truth, and alleviates, perhaps, to a royal car, the harshness of instruction. With a similar design, to admonish kings that they are strong only in the strength of their subjects, the same Indians invented the game of chess, which was likewise introduced into Persia under the reign of Nushirvan.4

The son of Kobad found his kingdom involved Peace and in a war with the successor of Constantine; and the the Roanxiety of his domestic situation inclined him anno. A.D. 433to grant the suspension of arms, which Justinian sas. was impatient to purchase. Chosroes saw the Roman ambassadors at his feet. He accepted eleven thousand pounds of gold, as the price of an endless or indefinite pence; some mutual exchanges

^{*} Bee the Historia Stabilishii of Dr. Hydn, Oyntages, Distress, turn, N. p. 61-69;

¹ The emilian peace (Procopius, Persir, l. 1, 4, 21) was comfored or rathed in the with year, and illd consulting of Justinian, (A. D.

MILIT. AL-CONS.

CHAP, were regulated; the Persian assumed the guard of the gates of Caucusus, and the demolition of Days was suspended, on condition that it should never be made the residence of the general of the East. This interval of repose had been solicited, and was diligently improved, by the ambition of the emperor: his African conquests were the first fruits of the Persian treaty; and the avarice of Chosroes was southed by a large partion of the spoils of Carthage, which his ambussadors required in a tone of pleasantry, and under the colour of friendship." But the trophics of Belisurius disturbed the slumbers of the great king; and he heard with astonishment, envy, and fear, that Sicily, Italy, and Rome itself, had been reduced, in three rapid campaigns, to the obedience of Justinian. Unpractiscal in the art of violating treaties, he secretly excited his hold and subtle vassal Almondar. That prince of the Saracens, who resided at Hira," had not been included in thegeneral peace, and still waged an obscure war against his rival Arethas, the chief of the tribe of Gassan, and confederate of the empire. The subject of their dispute was an extensive sheep-walk in the desert to the south of Palmyra. An immemorial tribute for the license of pasture, appeared to

355, between January 2 and April 14 Page, turn v. p. 2305. Marmillion; in his Objective, uses the style of the Mades and Pursiana

[&]quot; Pricepins, Persis, L.1, c. 26.

^{*} Almonius, king of Hira, was deposed by Rabad, and restored by Nucleivan. His mather, from her beauty, season memory Calcard Water, an appellation which became heredliney, and were attended for a many noble center (illustrating to families to the Aren printers of Syris, (Possek, Specimes Hist, Arms, p. 62, 30).

artest the rights of Almondar, while the Gussan- CHAP. ile appealed to the Latin name of strata, a paved XLII. road, as an unquestionable evidence of the sovereignty and labours of the Romans.6 The two monarchs supported the cause of their respective vassale; and the Persian Arab, without expecting the event of a slow and doubtful arbitration, enriched his flying camp with the spell and captives of Syria. Instead of repelling the arms, Justihim attempted to seduce the fidelity of Almondar, while he called from the extremities of the earth, the nations of Ethiopia and Scythia to invade the dominions of his rival. But the aid of such allies was distant and precarious, and the discovery of this hostile correspondence justified the complaints of the Goths and Armenians, who implored, almost at the same time, the protection of Chosroes. The descendants of Arsaces, who were still numerous in Armenia, bud been provoked to assert the last relics of national freedom and hereditary rank; and the ambassadors of Vitiges had secretly traversed the empire to expose the instant, and almost inevitable, danger of the kingdom of Italy. Their representations were uniform, weighty, and effectual. " We " stand before your throne, the advocates of your " interest as well as of our own. The ambitious " and faithless Justinian aspires to be the sale " master of the world. Since the endless peace

^{*} Prompting Persin is fit w. L. We are agreement of the origin and signer of this more, a providered of an days justing from America. ete en Bubylimbig son à Latin men le Tellele's Map fing. Orienta-Wasterly and Charille my olem.

CHAP. XUII.

" which betrayed the common freedom of man-" kind, that prince, your ally in words; your ene-" my in actions, has alike insulted his friends and " foes, and has filled the earth with blood and " confusion. Has be not violated the privileges of Armenia, the independence of Colchos, and " the wild liberty of the Tzanian mountains? " Has he not usurped, with equal avidity, the " city of Bosphorus on the frozen Macotus, and " the vule of pulm-trees on the shores of the Red " Sca? The Moors, the Vandals, the Goths, " have been successively oppressed, and each na-" tion has calmly remained the spectator of their " neighbour's ruin. Embrace, O king! the fa-" vourable moment; the East is left without de-" fence, while the armies of Justinian and his re-" nowned general are detained in the distant re-" gions of the West. If you hesitate and delay, " Belisarius and his victorious troops will soom " return from the Tiber to the Tigris, and Per-" sia may enjoy the wretched consolation of be-" ing the last devoured." By such arguments, Chosroes was easily persuaded to imitate the example which he condemned; but the Persian, ambitious of military fame, disdained the inactive warfare of a rival, who issued his sanguinary commands from the secure station of the Byzantine palace.

He invades Frid. A. D. 540.

Whatever might be the provocations of Chos-

^{*} I have thended, in a shart spends, the two septions of the Armscides of Armstria and the Gothie ambiguidars. Pincopins, in his pubhe blaimy, Seris, and makes us feel, that Justinian was the true sether of the war, (Persie, J. H. c. 2, 13).

roes, he abused the confidence of treaties; and CHAP, the just reproaches of dissimulation and false. XLIL hood could only be concenled by the lustre of his victories." The Persian army, which had been assembled in the plains of Bahylon, prudently declined the strong cities of Mesopotamia, and followed the western bank of the Euphrates, till the small though populous town of Dura presumed to arrest the progress of the great king. The gates of Dura, by treachery and surprise, were burst open; and as soon as Chosroes had stained his simiter with the blood of the inhabitants, he dismissed the ambassador of Justinian to inform his muster in what place he had left the enemy of the Romans. The conqueror still affected the praise of humanity and justice; and as he beheld a noble matron with her infant rudely dragged along the ground, he sighed, he wept, and implored the divine justice to punish the author of these calamities. Yet the herd of twelve thousand captives was ransomed for two hundred pounds of gold; the neighbouring bishop of Sergioplis pledged his faith for the payment; and in the subsequent year the unfeeling avarice of Chostoes exacted the penalty of an obligation which it was generous to contract, and impossible to discharge. He advanced into the heart of Syria; but a feeble enemy, who

I The largester of Syria, the root of Antioch, &c. are related to a Call and regular series by Penergian, (Persir, L. U. e. S.-I.C. Small colisions and can be drawn from the orientals a yet and they, but IVfilerholds binned, quasity, should blook, when he blooms them he making Justinian and Nuchiryan contemporaries. On the geography of the matter mary D'Auville (l'Emphrate et le Tigret le vofficient and antisferiory.

CHAR

vanished at his approach, disappointed him of XLII- the honour of victory; and as he could not hone to establish his dominion, the Persian king displayed in this incoad the mean and rapacions vices of a robber. Hierapolis, Berrhasa or Aleppo, Apamea and Chalcis, were successively besteged: they redeemed their safety by a ramsom of gold or silver, proportioned to their respective strength and opulence; and their new muster enforced, without observing, the terms of expitulation. Educated in the religion of the Magi, he exercised without remorse the lucrative trade of sacrilege; and, after stripping of its gold and gems, a piece of the true eross, he generously restored the naked reliet to the devotion of the Christians of Apamea-No more than fourteen years had clapsed since Antioch was ruined by an earthquake; but the queen of the East, the new Theopolis, had been raised from the ground by the liberality of Justinian; and the increasing greatness of the buildings and the people already erased the memory of this recent disaster. On one side, the city was defended by the mountain, on the other by the river Orontes; but the most accessible part was communded by a superior eminence; the proper remedies were rejected, from the despicable fear of discovering its weakness to the encmy; and Germanus, the emperor's nephew, refused to trust his person and dignity within the walls of a besieged city. The people of Antioch had inherited the vain and satirical genius of their ancestors; they were elated by a sudden reinforcement of six thousand soldiers;

dust rolle Antioch.

they disdained the offers of an easy capitalation; CHAP. and their intemperate clamours insulted from the State camparts the majesty of the great king. Under his eye the Persian myriads mounted with scalingladders to the essault; the Roman mercenaries fled through the opposite gate of Daphne; and the generous assistance of the youth of Antioch served only to aggravate the miseries of their country. As Choscoes, attended by the ambassidars of Justinian, was descending from the mountain, he affected, in a plaintive voice, to deplors the obstinger and rule of that unhappy people. but the skrughter still raged with narelenting fury; and the city, at the command of a horbarian, was delivered to the flarger. The cathedraf of Antioch was indeed preserved by the avarice, not the piety, of the conqueror; a more honographe examption was granted to the church of St Julian, and the quarter of the town where the ambassadors resided; some distant streets were saved by the shifting of the wind, and the walls still subsisted to protect, and soon to betray, their new inhabitants. Fanaticism had deficed the ernaments of Daphne, but Choscors breathed a purer air amidst her groves and fountains; and some idolaters in his train might sacrifice with imponity to the symples of that elegant retreat. Eighteen miles below Antioch, the river Orontes falls into the Mediterranean. The haughty Persian visited the term of his conquests; and after hathing alone in the sea, he offered a solemn sacrifice of thanksgiving to the sun, or rather to the creator of the sun, whom the Magi adored. If this

CHAE act of superstition offended the prejudices of the Syrians, they were pleased by the courteous and even eager attention with which he assisted at the games of the circus; and as Chosroes had heard that the blue faction was espoused by the emperor, his peremptory command secured the victory of the green charioteer. From the discipline of his camp the people derived more solid consolation; and they interceded in vain for the life of a soldier who had too faithfully copied the rapine of the just Noshirvan. At length, fatigued, though unsatiated, with the spoil of Syria, he slowly moved to the Euphrates, formed a temporary bridge in the neighbourhood of Barbalissus, and defined the space of three days for the entire passage of his numerous best. After his return, he founded, at the distance of one day's journey from the palace of Ctesiphon, a new city, which perpetuated the joint names of Chosroes and of Antioch. The Syrian captives recognised the form and situation of their native abodes; boths and a stately circus were constructed for their use: and a colony of musicians and charioteers revived in Assyria the pleasures of a Greek capital. By the munificence of the royal founder, a liberal allowance was assigned to these fortunate exiles; and they enjoyed the singular privilege of bestowing freedom on the slaves whom they acknowledged as their kinsmen. Palestine, and the holy wealth of Jerusalem, were the next objects that attracted the ambition, or rather the avarice, of Chosroes. Constantinople, and the palace of the Cassars, no longer appeared impregnable or

remote; and his aspiring fancy already covered CHAP. Asia Minor with the troops, and the Black Sea Nill. with the navies, of Persin.

These hopes might have been realized, if the Deleue of conqueror of Italy had not been sensonably recal- Bellianin. led to the defence of the East. While Chosroes A.D. 441 pursued his ambitious designs on the coast of the Euxine, Belisprius, at the head of an army without payor discipline, encamped beyond the Euphrates, within six miles of Nisibis. He meditated, by a skilful operation, to draw the Persians from their impregnable citadel, and improving his advantage in the field, either to intercept their retreat, or perhaps to enter the gates with the flying barharians. He advanced one day's journey on the territories of Persia, reduced the fortress of Sisanrane, and sent the governor, with eight hundred chosen horsemen, to serve the conperor in his Haflan wars. He detached Arethas and his Arabs. supported by twelve hundred Romans, to pass the Tigris, and to ravage the harvests of Assyria, a fruitful province, long exempt from the calamities of war. But the plans of Belisarius were disconcerted by the untractable spirit of 'Arethau, who neither returned to the camp, nor sent any intelligence of his motions. The Roman general was fixed in anxious expectation to the same spot; the time of action claysed, the ardent sun of Mesopotamin inflamed with fevers the blood of his Euro-

[&]quot;In the public blatery of Percepting, (Persig. 1, it, r. 10, 10, 10, 10, 21. 24, 23, 20, 27, 2011 and; with some might prospinent, we may removably abus nor care against the waterships without of the Aringa doors, to 2, 3, with the Noter, at must, of Alemanton.

pean soldiers; and the stationary troops and officers of Syria, affected to tremble for the safety of their defenceless cities. Yet this diversion had already succeeded in forcing Choscoes to return with loss and precipitation; and if the skill of Belisarius had been seconded by discipline and valour, his success might have satisfied the sanguine wishes of the public, who required at his hands the community of Cusiphon and the deliver-A.D. Str. ance of the emptives of Antioch. At the end of the campaign, he was recalled to Constantinople by an ungrateful court, but the dangers of the ensuing spring restored his confidence and command; and the hero, almost alone, was despatched, with the speed of post-horses, to repel, by his name and presence, the invasion of Syria. He found the Roman generals, among whom was a nephew of Justinian, imprisoned by their fears in the fortifications of Hierapolis. But instead of listening to their timid counsels, Belisarius commanded them to follow him to Europus, where he had resolved to collect his forces, and to execute whatever God should inspire him to achieve against the enemy. His firm attitude on the banks of the Euphrutes restrained Choscoes from advancing towards Palestine; and he received with art and dignity, the ambassadors, or rather spies, of the Persian monarch. The plain between Hierapolis and the river was covered with the squadrons of cavalry, six thousand hunters tall and robust, who pursued their game without the apprehension of an enemy. On the opposite bank the ambassadors descried a thousand Armenian

horse, who appeared to guard the passage of the CHAP. Emphrates. The tent of Belisarius was of the Mill. coarsest lines, the simple equipage of a warrior who disdained the buxury of the East. Around his tent, the nations who marched under his standard were arranged with skilful confusion. The Thracians and Illyrians were posted in the front, the Heruli and Goths in the centre; the prospect was closed by the Moors and Vandals, and their loose array seemed to multiply their Their dress was light and active: numbers. one soldier carried a whip, another a sword, a third a bow, a fourth perhaps a battle-axe, and the whole picture exhibited the intrepidity of the troops and the vigilance of the general. Chosroes was deluded by the address, and awail by the genius, of the lieutenant of Justinian. Conscious of the merit, and ignorant of the force of his antagonist, he drended a decisive hattle in a distant country, from whence not a Persian might return to relate the melancholy tale. The great king hastened to repass the Euphrates; and Belisarius pressed his retreat, by affecting to oppose a measure so salutary to the empire, and which could scarcely have been prevented by an army of an hundred thousand men. Envy might suggest to ignorance and pride, that the public enemy had been suffered to escape: but the African and Gothic triumphs are less glorious than this safe and bloodless victory, in which nelther fortune, nor the valour of the soldiers, can subtract any part of the general's renown. The A. D. 343. around removal of Bellsuring from the Persian to

SLIL.

the Italian war, revealed the extent of his personal merit, which had corrected or supplied the want of discipline and courage. Fifteen generals, without concert or skill, led through the mountains of Armenia an army of thirty thousand Romans, inattentive to their signals, their ranks, and their ensigns. Four thousand Persians, intrenched in the camp of Dubis, vanquished, almost without a combat, this disorderly multitude; their uscless arms were scattered along the road, and their horses sunk under the fatigue of their rapid flight. But the Arabs of the Roman party prevailed over their brethren; the Armenians returned to their allegiance; the cities of Dara and Edessa resisted a sudden assault and a regular siege, and the calamities of war were suspended by those of pestilence. A tacit or formal agreement between the two sovereigns protected the tranquillity of the eastern frontier; and the arms of Chosroes were confined to the Colchian or Lazic war, which has been too minutely described by the historians of the times.

Dennipo tion of Clothone The extreme length of the Euxine sen, from Constantinople to the mouth of the Phasis, may

[•] The Limit wat, the contest of Some and Persia or the Photo, is fedhenely spot through many a page of Procedure, (Fernic I B. A. 15, 17, 59, 58, 50) Gothin L (v, c. 7-16), and Agartian, O. S. Sa, sa, and co, p. 25-150, 144).

The Peripher, or all rummer (aution of the Funter out, was described in Latin by Sellant, and to Greek by Arran.—). The former wark, which on longer a title, has the a resident by the suggester tilligence of M. as a man, the president of the partiament of Dijan, thist, on to flag skippe demander, that is, i. all, p. 198-2988, who centures to se-

be computed as a voyage of nine days, and a CHAP. measure of seven hundred miles. From the XLIL Iberian Caucasus, the most lofty and craggy Lanna or mountains of Asia, that river descends with such Mingrella. oblique vehemence, that, in a short space, it is traversed by one hundred and twenty bridges. Nor does the stream become placid and navigable, till it reaches the town of Sarapana, five days journey from the Cyrus, which flows from the same hills, but in a contrary direction, to the Caspian lake. The proximity of these rivers have suggested the practice, or at least the idea, of wafting the precious merchandise of India down the Oxus, over the Caspian, up the Cyras, and with the current of the Phasis into the Euxine and Mediterranean seas. As it successively collects the streams of the plain of Colches, the Phusis moves with diminished speed, though accumulated weight. At the mouth it is sixty fathons deep and half a league broud, but a small woody island is interposed in the midst of the channel: the water, so soon as it has deposited an earthy or metallic sediment, floats on the surface of the waves, and is no longer susceptible of corruption. In a course of one hundred miles, forty of which are navigable for large vessels, the Phasis divides

some the character of the Roman histories. His teacription of the factive is expressed formed of all the Course of the original, and all the Greeks and Latine where follows night copy, or by whom he might to copent; and the term of the execution atmospher the willinder design. E. The Periods off Artists is addressed to the composite Alleren, (in Gungraph, Minne, Hodson, rum, Q. and contains of attention to governe of Poster had seen, from Trabianed to Dissection; wherever he had been from Dissection; wherever he had been from Dissection to the Danube; and

MIAP.

the celebrated region of Colchos," or Minerelia," which, on three sides, is fortified by the Iberian and Armenian mountains, and whose maritime coast extends about two hundred miles, from the neighbourhood of Trebizond to Dioscurias. and the confines of Circussin. Both the suil and climate are relaxed by excessive moisture; twenty-eight rivers, besides the Phasis and his dependent streams, convey their waters to the seat and the hallowness of the ground appears to indicate the subterrangem channels between the Euxine and the Caspian. In the fields where wheat or barloy is sown, the earth is too soft to sustain the action of the plough; but the gom, a small grain not unlike the millet or coriander seed, supplies the ordinary food of the people; and the use of bread is confined to the prince and his nobles. Yet the vintage is more plentiful than the harvest; and the balk of the tems; as well as the quality of thew incomplay the unassisted powers of nature. The same powers continually tend to overslindow the face of the

Bender the many countries. All to it employ per a biscorium, According the principality, we many resemble the properties of Manager than the principal of the properties of Aligoratic and the sentence of the Architecture, and many the manders accordingly all the self-sentence of Aligoratic and the self-sentence, that is, at the sentence of Aligoratic and Principal Computers of Aligoratic and Principal Computers of Aligoratic and Principal Computers of Aligoratic and A

country with thick forests; the timber of the hills, GHAP. and the flax of the plains, contribute to the abundance of naval stores; the wild and tame animals, the horse, the ox, and the hog, are remarkably prolific, and the name of the phoasant is expressive of his native habitation on the banks of the Phasis. The gold-mines to the south of Trebizond, which are still worked with sufficient profit, were a subject of national dispute between Justinian and Chosroes: and it is not unreasonable to believe, that a vein of precious metal sony be equally diffused through the circle of the hills, although these secret treasures are neglected by the laziness, or concealed by the prudence, of the Mingrelians. The waters, impregnated with particles of gold, are carefully strained through sheep-skins or fleeces; but this expedient, the ground-work perhaps of a marvellous fable, affords a faint image of the wealth extracted from a virgin earth by the power and industry of ancient kings. Their silver palaces and golden chumbers surpass our belief; but the fame of their riches is said to have excited the enterprising avarice of the Argonauts.' Tradition has affirmed, with some colour of reason, that Egypt planted on the Phasis a learned and polite colony, which manufactured linen, built nu-

J. Piley, Hist. Name L crait, 157. The gold and silver influe of Colches attracted the Argennuts, Curds & 1, p. 17). The experient Charatte send find no gold in minus, strong or electrons. Yers Mingradius lost his hand and fact for thewing some specimens at Constantineple of antive gold.

^{*} Harvelia, L. H., c. 101, 103, p. 100, 1111 Diodor, Sent. U. p. 38, offer, Womening ; Duony a Principle, 669, and Printed and her, Scholing all Aprillations Argument Live 292, 291.

CHAP, vies, and invented geographical maps. The ingenuity of the moderns has peopled, with flourishing cities and nations, the Isthmus between the Euxine and the Caspian : and a lively writer. observing the resemblance of climate, and, in his appreliension, of trade, has not hesitated to pronounce Colchos the Holland of antiquity."

Macmers of the matters.

But the riches of Colchos shine only through the darkness of conjecture or tradition; and its genuine history presents an uniform scene of rudeness and poverty. If one hundred and thirty languages were spoken in the market of Dioscurius," they were the imperfect idioms of so many savage tribes or families, sequestered from each other in the valleys of mount Caucasus; and their squarathm, which diminished the importance, must have multiplied the number, of their rustin capitals. In the present state of Mingrelia, a village is an assemblage of huts within a wooden fence; the fortresses are sested in the depths of forests; the princely town of Cyta, or Cotatis, consists of two hundred houses, and a stone-edifice apportains only to the magnificence of kings. Twelve ships from Constentinople, and about sixty barks, laden with the

A Standardment, Esperados Late, Lord, e. C. L'Halling ... muren de villes et millions qui un faut plus.

^{*} Bringwoodille, Memoirer to Christiante des Justifylicus, Lon. wave, p. 33, on the African very good Hanne and the commerce of actuability.

^{*} A Greek historium, Timestheres, had affirmed, in munceer nutrones elementabas fragues descendent ; and the modest 17 my is content to ode, of a posterior of the examination profile beginning from (\$4.5) but the words mine deserve cover a multitude of junt Schient-

fruits of industry, annually east anchor on the CHAR. coast; and the list of Colchian exports is much XLII. increased, since the natives had only slaves and hides to offer in exchange for the corn and sait which they purchased from the subjects of Justinian. Not a vestige can be found of the art. the knowledge, or the navigation, of the ancient Colchians: few Greeks desired or dared to pursue the footsreps of the Argonauts; and even the marks of an Egyptian colony are lost on a nearer approach. The rite of circumcision is practised only by the Mahometans of the Euxine; and the curled hair and swarthy complexion of Africa no longer disfigure the most perfect of the human race. It is in the adjacent climates of Georgia, Mingrelia, and Circassia, that nature has placed, at least to our eyes, the model of beauty, in the shape of the limbs, the colour of the skin, the symmetry of the features, and theexpression of the countenance. According to the destination of the two sexes, the menseemed formed for action, the women for love; and the perpetual supply of females from mount Caucasus has purified the blood, and improved the breed, of the southern nations of Asia. The proper district of Mingrelia, a portion only of the ancient Colchos, has long sustained an exportation of twelve thousand slaves. The number of prisoners or crimiunis would be inadequate to the annual demand;

^{*} Buff- (High Not see, III, p. CRL-CR) college the management enfings of suturalists and travellers. U. in the man of Barodetus, they went in tenth subsympts and whereast, tund he had observed. them with many, this previous fact is an example of the inflances of mate us a filreign solvey.

CHAP.

but the common people are in a state of servitude to their lords; the exercise of fraud or rapine is unpunished in a lawless community; and the market is continually replenished by the m buse of civit and paternal authority. Such a trade," which reduces the human species to the level of cattle, may tend to encourage marriage and population; since the multitude of children enriches their sordid and inhuman parent. But this source of impure wealth must inevitably poison the national manners, obliterate the sense of honour and virtue, and almost extinguish the Instincts of nature; the Christians of Georgia and Mingrella are the most dissolute of mankind; and their children, who, in a tender age, are sold into foreign slavery, have already learnt to imitate the rapine of the father and the prostitution of the mother. Yet, amidst the rudest ignorance, the untaught natives discover a singular dexterity both of mind and hand; and although the want of union and discipline exposes them to their more powerful neighbours, a bold and intrepid spirit has animated the Colchians of every age. In the host of Xerxes, they served on foot; and their arms were, a dagger or a javelin, a wooden casque, and a buckler of raw hides. But in their own country the use of cavalry has more generally prevailed: the meanest of the peasants disdain to walk; the martial nobles are pos-

^{*} The Mingrelian embassable certical at Community less that item invalved persons; Sur he are field; them day by day, will his retions was distinuabled to a necessary and two valets, (Taverner, tom-1, p. 365). To purchase his mistres, a Mingrelian gentleman soid twelve prests and his wife to the Turks, (Chardin, turn 1, p. 66).

stased, perhaps, of two hundred horses; and CRAP. above five thousand are numbered in the train of XLIL the prince of Mingrelia. The Colchian government has been always a pure and hereditary kingdom; and the authority of the sovereign is only restrained by the turbulence of his subjects. Whenever they were obedient, he could lend a numerous army into the field; but some faith is requisite to believe, that the single tribe of the Sunnians was composed of two hundred thousand soldiers, or that the population of Mingrelia now amounts to four millions of inhabitants?

It was the boast of the Colchians, that their Bereinancestors had checked the victories of Sesostris; colone, and the defeat of the Egyptian is less incredible than his successful progress, as far as the foot of mount Caucasus. They sunk, without any memorable effort, under the arms of Cyrus; followed in distant wars the standard of the great king. and presented him every fifth year with one hundred boys, and as many virgins, the fairest under the produce of the land." Yet he accepted this tener giff like the gold and ebony of India, the frank-Cana 200; incense of the Arabs, or the negroes and ivory of Æthiopia t the Colchians were not subject to the dominion of a satrap, and they continued to enjoy the name as well as substance of na-

Strang, L. et. p. 763. Lamberti, Relation de la Mineralia. Velles. tuest avoid the country extreme of Chartier, who allows no more than 23,000 inimiatants to supply an aim of experience of (2,000 slaver. my absentally unweathy of that judicious travelless.

^{*} Herold, C.M. e. 87. Sec. in 1 vis. to 78, there are not one or other in the experiment of Netters against Great in

cuse tional independence." After the fall of the Persian empire, Mithridates, king of Pontus. added Colches to the wide circle of his dominions on the Euxine ; and when the natives presumed to request that his son might reign over them, be bound the ambitious youth in chains of gold, and delegated a servant in his place. In the pursuit of Mithridates, the Romans advanced to the hanks of the Phasis, and their galleys ascended the river till they reached the camp of Pompey and his legions. But the senate, and afterwards the emperors, disdained to reduce that distant and useless conquest into the form of a province. The family of a Greek rhetorician was permitted to reign in Colchos and the adjacent kingdoms, from the time of Mark Antony to that of Nero; and after the race of Polemo's was extinct, the eastern Pontus, which preserved his name, extended no further than the neighbourhood of Trebizond. Beyond these limits the fortifications of Hyssus, of Apparus, of the

moder the Hommes. Liefore Christ 60a

[&]quot; Xempleme who had encountryof the Calchient in his retruit. (Analysis, l. 19, p. 320, 343, 348, edit. Hutchisses, and Foller's Dimeranting p. 53-36, in Systemat's English version, and in, stylesthan arrecon divisor the resigned of Michridana, they are more ed by Appendix on agreement (the Bell, Mint statemen, or 10, from 1, p. that at the less and may estition, for John Schweighmoor, Lipsin. 1785, 3 webs large outside.

CThe continue of Calchar by Minimilates and Pompey, he austred by Appear, (de Bell, Muhridah), and Famurah, on Vit. Pompa-

^{*} We may trees the che and full of the family of Polemis, he Strahe, (b. 31, p. 755; b un; y. 807); Dien Camine of Xignille, ep. 188, 208, 003, 719, 754, 215, 246, edia; Beimerer Sententian In November 18; in Verposius, c. 801 Europeus, (ell. 1411 Jungline, (Artig. Judaie. Lar, to Type 970, offit, Haverenmy), and Emphine, (Chron. with Stations, Assessations, y. 1003.

Phasis, of Dioscurins or Sebastopolis, and of Pi- CHAP. tyus, were guarded by sufficient detachments of XLIL horse and foot; and six princes of Colchos received their diadems from the lieutenants of Caesar. One of these lieutenants, the eloquent Visit of and philosophic Arrino, surveyed, and has de- a. n. ire scribed, the Euxine coast, under the reign of Hadrian. The garrison which he reviewed at the mouth of the Phasis, consisted of four hundred chosen legionaries; the brick-walls and towers, the double ditch, and the military engines on the rampart, rendered this place inaccessible to the barbarians; but the new suburbs, which had been built by the merchants and veterups, required, in the opinion of Arrian, some external defence. As the strength of the empire was gradually impaired, the Romans stationed on the Phasis, were either withdrawn or expelled; and the tribe of the Lazi," whose posterity speak a foreign dialect, and inhabit the sea-coast of Trebizond, imposed their name and dominion on the uncient kingdom of Colches. Their independence was soon invaded by a formidable neighbour, who had acquired, by arms and treaties, the sovereignty of Iberia. The dependent king of Luzica receiv-

* In the time of Principles, three were in Homes forts on the Princip.
Player and Actionization were true united on the retinuous of the Principle, (Goth. I. iv. c. 1): I but the latter was afterwards restored by Jacobson, the Edit. I. iv. c. 7).

[—] In the time of Piling, Atelem, and Proteing, the Laci series a preterniar table on the methern state of Colema, (Collarine, Compani-Annia, term it, p. 222). In the age of Justician, they spread, or at least reigned, over the ethole country. At present they have migrated along the count towards Traineral, and compare a rade onterning people, with a peculiar language, (Chardio, p. 140). Pegasinel, p. 641.

CHAR ed his sceptre at the hands of the Persian MEIL monarch, and the successors of Constanting nedistance.

of the lasti. A. D. 589.

quitseed in this injurious claim, which was proudly urged as a right of immemorial prescription. Corresion In the beginning of the axth century, their influence was restored by the introduction of Christianity, which the Mingrelians still profess with hecoming zeal, without understanding the doctrines, or observing the precents; of their religion. After the decease of his father. Zathus was exalted to the regal dignity by the favour of the great king; but the pious youth abhorred the ceremonies of the Magi, and sought, in the palace of Constantinople, an orthodox baptism, a noble wife, and the alliance of the emperor Justin. The king of Lazica was solemnly invested with the diadem. and his clonk and tunic of white silk, with a gold horder, displayed, in rich embroidery, the figure of his new patron; who soothed the jealousy of the Persian court, and excused the revolt of Colthos, by the venerable names of hospitality and religion. The common interest of both empires imposed on the Calchians the dark of guarding the passes of mount Canonsus, where a wall of sixty miles is now defended by the mouthly service of the musqueteers of or Mingrelia." Hammer

Revuit and repentaine of the Commission.

But this henourable connection was soon corrupted by the avarice and ambition of the Rosonas.

^{*} John Maleite, Chron. tem. it, p. 134-107. Thropforms p. 144. Hist. Mucell. L. av., p. 103. The fare is muthamile, but the date arems tels country. In speaking of their Presum sittence, the Last contestprograms of Justician employ. Our new chicken worth-or yarapare property species, Sc. Could they believe to a constation which had put have dimeland above resulty years?

Degraded from the runk of allies, the Lazi were CHAP. incessantly reminded, by words and actions, of XLIL their dependent state. At the distance of R A D. 548day's journey beyond the Apparus, they beheld 549 the rising fortress of Petra," which commanded the maritime country to the south of the Phasis. Instead of being protected by the valour, Colchos was insulted by the licentionsness. of foreign merconaries; the benefits of commerce were converted into base and vegations monopoly : and Gubazes, the native prince, was reduced to a pageant of royalty, by the superior influence of the officers of Justinian Disappointed in their expectations of Christian virtue, the indignant Lazi reposed some confidence in the justice of an unbeliever. After a private assurance that their ambassador should not be delivered to the Romans, they publicly solicited the friendship and aid of Chosroes. The sagnetous monarch instantly discerned the use and importance of Colchos; and meditated a plan of conquest, which was renewed at the cuit of a thousand years by Shah Abbas, the wisest and most powerful of his successors. His ambition was fired by the lope of hunching a Persian mays from the Phasis; of comminding the trade and mavigation of the Puxine

The sale applies of Petra subside in the buildings of Processin and Against. Start of the tenne and current of Lanks may be toped by comparing their arrives and publishes with the may of Mirgardin, in Landacti-

to See the memory letters of Pierre Reils Value, the Slaw of term of her, averaged, mine of 207, 200, 212, 223, 200, 200, 200, 200, 100, 10, p. 34, 127). In the years lette, 1210, and 1110, he conversed with Shah Abbas, and strongly encouraged a design which might have resided Pierris and Europe against their common course the Turky.

SLIL

sea, of desoluting the coast of Pontus and Bithynia, of distressing, perhaps of attacking, Constantinople, and of personaling the harbarians of Europe to second his arms and counsels against the common enemy of mankind. Under the pretence of a Scythian war, he silently led his troops to the frontiers of Iberia; the Colchian guides were prepared to conduct them through the woods and along the precipiees of mount Cau casus; and a narrow path was laboriously formed into a safe and spacious highway, for the murch of envalry, and even of elephants. Gubazes laid his person and dindem at the feet of the king of Persin: his Colchians imitated the submission of their prince; and after the walls of Petra had been shaken, the Roman garrison prevented, hy a capitulation, the impending fury of the last assault. But the Lazi soon discovered, that their impatience had urged them to choose an evil more intolerable than the culamities which they strove to escape. The monopoly of salt and corn was effectually removed by the loss of those valuable commodities. The authority of a Roman legislator was succeeded by the pride of an oriental despot, who beheld, with equal disdain, the slaves whom he had expited, and the kings whom he had humbled before the footstool of his throne. The adoration of fire was introduced into Colchos by the send of the Magic their intolerant spirit provoked the fervour of a Christian people; and the projudice of nature or education was wounded by the impious practice of exposing the dead bodies of their parents, on the summit

of a lofty tower, to the crows and vultures of the CHAY. mr. Conscious of the increasing batred, which XLIL retarded the execution of his great designs, the just Nushirvan had secretly given orders to ussussingle the king of the Lazi, to transplant the people into some distant land, and to fix a faithful and warlike colony on the banks of the Pha-The watchful jeolousy of the Colchians foresaw and averted the approaching rule. Their repentance was accepted at Constantinople by the prudence, rather than the elemency, of Justinian; and he commanded Dagisteus, with seven thousand Romans, and one thousand of the Zani, to expel the Persians from the coast of the Euxine.

The siege of Petra, which the Roman ge-Siege of neral, with the ahl of the Lazi, immediately uns A D sasdertook, is one of the most remarkable actions 551. of the age. The city was sented on a craggy rock, which hung over the sea, and communicated by a steep and marrow path with the land. Since the approach was difficult, the attack might be deemed impossible; the Persian conqueror had strengthened the fortifications of Justinius; and the places least inaccessible were covered by additional bulwarks. In this important fortress, the vigilance of Chostoes had deposited a magatine of offensive and defensive arms, sufficient for five times the number, not only of the garri-

" See Herodama, O. I. v. 140, p. 605, who specia with diffidence; Larrier, thun, I, p. 309-101, Names our Historiate) : Proceptus, (Perma Line at 11s, and Agribber, (Liley, 61, 58). This practice, agreealso to the Zendavesto, (Figdy, do Relig Perm v. 31, in 114-131), dominateers that the burial of the Person kings, (Xenspleon Cyropold. L. vill, p. (10), or you over an apperque in re ye asylam, in a Greek firtien, mid that their tombs could be no more than concraphs.

CHAP:

son, but of the besiegers themselves. The stock of flour and salt provisions was adequate to the consumption of five years; the want of wine was supplied by vinegar, and of grain from whence a strong liquor was extracted; and a triple aqueduct eluded the diligence, and even the suspicinns, of the enemy. But the firmest defence of Petra was placed in the valour of fifteen hundred Persians, who resisted the assaults of the Romans, whilst, in a softer vein of earth, a mine was secretly perforated. The wall, supported by slender and temporary props, hung tottering in the air; but Dagisteus delayed the attack till he had secured a specific recompence; and the town was relieved before the return of his messenger from Constantinople. The Persian garrison was reduced to four hundred men, of whom no more than fifty were exempt from sickness or wounds; yet such had been their inflexible perseverance, that they concealed their losses from the enemy, by enduring, without a murmur, the sight and putrifying stench of the doub bodies of their eleven hundred companions. After their deliverance, the breaches were histily stopped with sand-bags; the mine was replenished with earth; a new wall was creeted on a frame of substantial timber; and a fresh gartison of three thousand men was stationed at Petra, to sustain the labours of a second siege. The operations, both of the attack and defence, were conducted with skilful obstinacy; and each party derived useful lessons from the experience of their past faults. A battering rum was invented, of light construction and powerful effect; it was trans-

ported and worked by the hands of forty soi- CHAT diers; and as the stones were loosened by its repeated strokes, they were torn with long from books from the wall. From those walls, a shower of darts was incessantly poured on the heads of the assailants, but they were most dangerously annoyed by a fiery composition of sulphur and bitumen, which in Colches might with some propriety be named the oil of Medea. Of six thousand Romans who mounted the scaling-ladders, their general, Bessas, was the first, a gallant veteran of seventy years of age: the courage of their leader, his fall, and extreme danger, animated the irresiatible effort of his troops; and their prevailing numbers oppressed the strength, without subduing the spirit, of the Persian garrison. The fate of these valuant men deserves to be more distinctly noticed. Seven hundred had perished in the siege, two thousand three humdred survived to defend the breach. One thousand and seventy were destroyed with fire and sword in the last assmit; and if seven hundred and thirty were made prisoners, only eighteen among them were found without the marks or honourable wounds. The remaining five humdred escaped into the citadel, which they maintained without any hopes of relief, rejecting the fairest terms of capitulation and service, till they were lost in the flames. They died in obedience to the commands of their prince; and such examples of lovalty and valour might excite their countrymen to deeds of equal despair and more prosperous event. The instant demolifion of the

works of Preta confessed the astonishment and CHAIN MARK. upprehension of the conqueror.

The Colchalle un Lincia war.

A Spartan would have praised and pitied the virtue of these heroic claves; but the tedious war-A. D. 548- fare and alternate success of the Roman and Persing arms cannot detain the attention of posterity at the foot of mount Cancusus. The advantages obtained by the troops of Justinian were more frequent and splendid; but the forces of the great king were continually supplied, till they amounted to eight elephants and seventy thousand men, including twelve thousand Scythian allies, and above three thousand Dilemites, who descended by their free choice from the hills of Hyrcania, and were equally formidable in close or in distant combat. The siege of Archaeopolis, a name imposed or corrupted by the Greeks, was raised with some lass and precipitation; but the Persians occupied the passes of Iberia: Colches was enslaved by their forts and garrisons; they devoured the scanty sustenance of the people; and the prince of the Lazi fled into the mountains. In the Roman ciemp faith and discipline were unknown; and the independent leaders, who were invested with equal power, disputed with each other the pre-eminence of vice and corruption. The Perchans followed, without a murmur, the commands of a single chief, who implicitly aboved the instructions of their suprems lord. Their general was distinguished among the heroes of the East, by his wisdom in council, and his valour in the field. The advanced ege of Mermernes, and the lameness of both his feet, could not diminish the

activity of his mind, or even of his body; and THAP. whilst he was surried in a litter in the front of XLIL battle, he inspired terror to the enemy, and a just confidence to the troops, who, under his bonners, were always soccessful. After his death, the command devolved to Nacoragan, a proud sutrap, who, in conference with the imperial rhiefs, had presumed to declare that he disposed of victory as absolutely as of the ring on his finger. Such presumption was the natural cruse and forrrunner of a shameful defeat. The Romans had been gradually regulated to the edge of the seashore; and their last camp, on the ruins of the Greeinn colony of Phasis, was defended on all sides by strong intrenchments, the river, the Euxine, and a fleet of galleys. Despair united their counsels and invigorated their arms: they withstood the assault of the Persians; and the flight of Nacoragan preceded or followed the almost ter thousand of his bravest soldiers. He escaped from the Romans to fall into the hands of an unforgiving master, who severely chastised the error of his own choice; the amfortunate general was flayed alive, and his skin, stuffed into the human form, was exposed on a mountain: a dreadful warning to those who might becounter be intrusted with the fame and fortune of Persia. Yet the prudence of Chusroes insensibly relinquished the prosecution of the Colchian war, in the just persuasion that it is

[&]quot;The punchment of steping after could not be introduced turn Perna by Sapor. (Brism de Bern. Pers. I. in p. 578), nie could it be superd from the foolish tale of Marayan the Purpoint paper, much findlishly quinted as a procedent by Agathian, O. iv. p. 127, 125).

SEAT.

impossible to reduce, or, at least, to hold a distant country against the wishes and efforts of its inhabitants. The fidelity of Gubazes sustained the most rigorous trials. He patiently endured the hardships of a savage life, and rejected, with disdain, the specious temptations of the Persian court. The king of the Lazi had been educated in the Christian religion; his mother was the daughter of a senator; during his youth, he had served ten years a silentiary of the Byzantine palace, and the arrears of an unpaid salary were a motive of attachment as well as of complaint But the long continuance of his sufferings extorted from him a naked representation of the truth; and truth was an unpardonable libel on the lieutemants of Justinian, who, amidst the delays of a ruinous war, had spared his enemies, and trampled on his allies. Their mulicious information persuaded the emperor, that his faithless vassal already meditated a second defection: an noter was issued to send him prisoner to Constantinople; a treacherous clause was inserted. that he might be lawfully killed in case of resistance | and Gabazes, without arms, or suspicion of danger, was stabled in the security of a friendly interview. In the first moments of rage and despair, the Colchinus would have sacrificed their country and religion to the gratification of revenge. But the anthority and eloquence of the

In the colors of Communication to their over thirty standards, who are sigled linear) ands force cubicult, our copy temperature in homeostate inje, which conferred the cash, without imposing the duties, of a trust a (Cod. Therefor, I vi, the Et. Gerboired Commun. 1988), p. 1299.

CHARLE X.1/11.

wiser few, obtained a salutary pause; the victory of the Phasis restored the terror of the Roman arms, and the emperor was solicitous to absolve his own name from the imputation of sufoula murder. A judge of senatorial rank was commissioned to inquire into the conduct and death of the king of the Luzi. He ascended a stately tribunal. encompassed by the ministers of justice and pumisliment; in the presence of both nations, this extraordinary eause was pleaded, according to the forms of rivil jurisprudence, and some satisfaction was granted to an injured people, by the sentence and execution of the meaner criminals."

In peace, the king of Persia continually sought News and the pritences of a tupture; but no sooner had he made taken up arms, than he expressed his desire of a between safe and honourable treaty. During the fiercest and Charhostilities, the two manarchs entertained a deceit- A. b. 540ful regotistion; and such was the superiority of 341; Choscoes, that whilst he treated the Roman ministers with in-plance and contempt, he obtained the most unprecedented bonours for his own ambassador at the imperial court. The successor of Cvrus assumed the maje ty of the eastern sun, and gracionaly pormitted his youngerigother Justinian to reign over the west, with the pale and reflected splendour of the moon. This giguntic style was supported by the pomp and elequence of Isdigune, one of the revalehantherlains. His wife and

A Chairmon failfult proteins, Ageithm the tile per \$4.560; it in pa 106-119) factories eightees or toward pages of falls and famin risterm. His ignorance of continuous overlands the strongest orgament against the long of Lanten-life former nevel.

NEIL.

daughters, with a train of cunuchs and cameis, attended the march of the ambussador : two satraps with golden diadems were numbered among his followers: he was guarded by five hundred horse, the most valiant of the Persians; and the Roman governor of Dara wisely refused to admit more than twenty of this martial and hostile caravan. When Isdigune had saluted the emperor, and delivered his presents, he passed ten months at Constantinople without discussing my serious affairs. Instead of being confined to his palace, and receiving food and water from the hands of his keepers, the Persian ambassador, without spies or guards, was allowed to visit the capital; and the freedom of conversation and trade enjoyed by his domestics offended the prejudices of an age, which rigorously practised the law of nations, without confidence or courtesy." By an unexampled indulgence, his interpreter, a servant below the notice of a Roman magistrate, was sented, at the table of Justinian, by the side of his muster; and one thousand pounds of gold might be assigned for the expence of his journey and entertainment. Yet the repeated labours of Isdigune could procure only a partial and imperfect truce, which was always perchaed with the treasures, and renewed at the solicitation, of the Byzantine court. Many years of fruitless desolation clapsed before Justinian und

Prompine represents the practice of the Gathacter of Revenue, month, t. i., v. T); and through ambounders have been treated with the more junious and rigour in Torbey, (Bushequies, epot, iii., p. 140, Td2, Ke.). Bushes, (Voyage A'Olanches), and China, (Narrative et M. de Lunge, in Bell's Tervelic wit, D. p. 190-317)

Chosroes were compelled, by mutual lassitude, CHAP. to consult the repose of their declining age. At xi.tt. a conference held on the frontier, each party, without expecting to gain credit, displayed the power, the justice, and the pacific intentions of their respective sovereigns; but necessity and interest dictated the treaty of peace, which was concluded for a term of fifty years, diligently composed in the Greek and Persian language, and attested by the seals of twelve interpreters The liberty of commerce and religion was fixed and defined; the allies of the emperor and the great king were included in the same benefits and obligations; and the most scrupulous precautions were provided to prevent or determine the accidental disputes that might arise on the confines of two hostile nations. After twenty years of destructive though feeble war, the limits still remained without alteration; and Chosroes was persuaded to renounce his dangerous claim to the passession or sovereignty of Colchos and its dependent states. Rich in the accumulated treasures of the East, he extorted from the Romans an ungual payment of thirty thousand pieces of gold; and the smallness of the sum revealed the disgrace of a tribute in its naked deformity. In a previous debute, the chariot of Sestatris, and the wheel of fortune, were applied by one of the ministers of Justinian, who observed that the reduction of Antioch, and some Syrian cities, had clevated beyond measure the vain and ambitious spirit of the barbarian. "You are mistaken." replied the modest Persian: " the king of kings,

TLUE

GHAP: "the lord of mankind, looks down with con-" tempt on such petty acquisitions; and of the " ten nations, vamquished by his invincible arms, "he esteems the Romans as the least formid-"able." According to the orientals, the empire of Nushirvan extended from Ferganah in Transoxiana, to Yemen or Arabia Felix. He subdued the rebels of Hyreania, reduced the provinces of Cahiff and Zablestan on the banks of the Indus, broke the power of the Euthalites, terminated by an honourable trenty the Turkish war, and mimitted the daughter of the great khan into the number of his lawful wives. and respected among the princes of Asia, he gave audience, in his palace of Madain, or Ctesiphon, to the umbassadors of the world. Their gifts or tributes, arms, rich garments, gems, slaves, er aromatics, were bumbly presented at the foot of his throne; and he condescended to accept from the king of India, ten quintals of the wood of aloes, a maid seven cubits in beight, and a carpet softer than silk, the skin, as it was reported, of an extraordinary serpent."

Congnest of the Abyusint-

Justinian had been reproached for his alliance with the Æthiopians, as if he attempted to introduce a people of savage negroes into the system of givilized sociaty. But the friends of the Roman empire, the Axamites, or Abyssinians, may

^{*} The regulations and truther because Justinian and Chemies are emplimely emplained by Procupling (Perric L. R. or 10, 18, 56, 27, 28) tiother times, \$1, \$50 ; Agathas with re-p. 141, \$46), and Marander's the Emergy, Lames p. 132-147). Commit Burbeyone, White der Areriem Traine, mm. ii, p. 148, 181-198, 193-900, 1 D'Hertelet, Ethine, Count y, 280, 651, 254, 191.

of Africa. The hand of nature has flattened the noses of the negroes, covered their heads with shaggy wool, and tinged their skin with inherent and indelible blackness. But the olive complexion of the Abyssinians, their hair, shape, and features, distinctly mark them as a colony of Arabs; and this descent is confirmed by the resemblance of language and manners, the report of an ancient emigration, and the narrow interval between the shores of the Red Sea. Christianity had raised that nation above the level of African barbarism; their intercourse with Egypt, and the successors of Constantine, had communicated the rudiments of the arts and sciences;

* See Buffin, Hist, Naturella, time His, p. 149. This Arabitant of frames and complexion, which has confianced 5100 years, (Lond spiralities, et Comment, Ethiopic U.L. & to the the entered of Abyconia, will justify the angulation, that there, at well as all many much have completed to form the representative of the edge.

^{*} The Pertilence minimum; i.e., Alverry, (Ramonic, times, 6st 704, rec. 274 vers.); Burrondez, (Percise's Physium, e.s. i., b.v. v. 7, p. 1149-1188); Luis, (Butation, &i., per M. Is Grand, with re likewoods only tylaters madern Abronnia what they had seen as dyrected. The monthless of Ladenburg, (Hira. Ethic inc., Francische 1681; Commentarium, 1691; Appendix, in 15, in lawary or language of the half little and only its medical library. Yet the large of the file and little and only its medical library. Yet the large of the file with the Hillsthome, the nonquence of Verman, is combinated in maximum and source and large and large and large made large and large

^{*}The regulations of Jackinson with the Axomites, or Ethiopines, are record at by Procupines, (Percent 4 c, c, 19, 20), and John Malaki, them. it, p. 164-163, 193-1966. The introduce of Antisch spouled the original morrative of the embarcador Personnel, of which Theory (Ribnest, ed., no few procuping a embarcador Pitters.)

XIII.

their vessels traded to the isle of Ceylon, and seven kingdoms obeyed the Negus or supreme prince of Abyssinia. The independence of the Homerites, who reigned in the rich and happy Arabin, was first violated by an Ethiopian conqueror; he draw his hereditary claim from the queen of Sheba," and his ambition was sanctified by religious zeat. The Jews, powerful and pefive in exile, had seduced the mind of Dunnan. prince of the Homerites. They urged him to retalinte the persecution inflicted by the imperial laws on their unfortunate brethren ; some Romon merchants were injuriously treated; and saveral Christians of Negra' were honoured with the crown of martyrdom. The charenes of Arabia implored the protection of the Abyssinian munarch. The Negus passed the Red Sca with a fleet and army, deprived the Jewish proselyte of his kingdom and life, and extinguished a race of princes, who laid ruled above two thousand

The trade of the Assumption to the most of Ludes and Astron. and the take of Caylin, a cratically represented by Commis Lutter, accepts, (Topograps, Children, 1 II, p. 112, 138, 110, 1 to) then p. 330, 339.

^{*} Louisipa West, or Commence of things is force. In

[&]quot;The city of Negro, or Nagron, in Yermen, is pursuanted with pulse-treet, and illuste in the high-road between Samu, the capital, ma Meera, from the farmer ten, from the latter recenty, high journey of a marginal camera, (Aladhela, Descript, Arabida, p. 52).

The amonythese of St. Armines prime of Negre, and the three forefixed and derty companions, is embeddinged in the legende of Merophenetic and Nicepharus Collision, applied by Barradon (A. D. 226, St. 22-60; A. B. ATL, Nt. 10-25), and refused, with observe diffgence, by Bannage, cities, due Jante, some all, to effect along p. 338-348), who investigates the state of the Jews in Armine and Ethiograp

years the sequestered region of myrrh and frank- CHAP. incense. The conqueror immediately announced XLII. the victory of the gospel, requested an orthodox patriarch, and so warmly professed his friendship to the Roman empire, that Justinian was flattered by the hope of diverting the silk-trade through the channel of Abyssinia, and of exciting the forces of Arabia against the Persian king. Nonnosus, descended from a family of Their standard amendates, was named by the emperor to exe-January. cute this important commission. He wisely de- A. D. 553 clined the shorter, but more dangerous, road through the sandy deserts of Nubia; ascended the Nile, embarked on the Red Sea, and safely landed at the African port of Adulis. From Adulis to the royal city of Axume is no more than fifty leagues, in a direct line; but the winding passes of the mountains detained the ambassador fifteen days; and as he traversed the forests, he saw, and vaguely computed, about five thousand wild elephants. The capital, according to his report, was large and populous; and the villarge of Axume is still conspicuous by the regal caronations, by the rains of a Christian temple, and by sixteen or seventeen obelisks inscribed with Greeion characters.3 But the Negus gave audience in the open field, scated on a lotty chariot, which was drawn by four elephants superhly caparisoned, and surrounded by his nobles

" Alvana on Remote, were is fall \$19 very will come one the Ameldales state of Arterna in the year 1200-long; under home a provide, As was stoned by the same contray by the Tracket Landson. Su more than one hundred houses remain a but the inecrosy of its porturnments preserved by the error community, thankes there or Comments L.D. c. II's.

NIL AND

and musicians. He was clad in a linen-garment and cap, holding in his hand two javelins and a light shield; and, although his nakedness was imperfectly covered, he displayed the barbaric pump of gold-chains, collars, and bracelets, richly adorned with pearls and precious stones. The ambassador of Justinian knelt; the Negus ruised him from the ground, embraced Nonnosus, kissed the seal, perused the letter, accepted the Roman alliance, and, brandishing his weapons, denounced implacable war against the worshippers of fire. But the proposal of the silk-trade was chided; and notwithstanding the assurances, and perhaps the wishes, of the Abyssinians, these hostile menages evaporated without effect. The Homerites were unwilling to abundon their aromatic groves, to explore it sandy desert, and to encounter, after all their fatigues, a formidable nation from whom they had never received any personal injuries. Instead of enlarging his conquests, the king of Ethiopia was incapable of defending his possessions. Abrahali, the slave of a Roman merchant of Adulis, assumed the sceptre of the Homerites; the troops of Africa were seduced by the lexury of the climate; and Justinian solicited the friendship of the usurper, who honoured, with a slight tribate, the supremacy of his prince. After a long series of prosperity, the power of Abrahah was overthrown before the gates of Mecca; his children were despoiled by the Persian conqueror; and the Æthiopians were finally expelled from the continent of Asia. This marrative of obscure and remote events is not foreign

to the decline and fall of the Roman empire. If CRAP. a Christian power had been maintained in Arabia, Mahomet must have been crushed in his cradle, and Abyssinia would have prevented a revolution which has changed the civil and religious state of the world.

^{*} The predutions of Yessen in the sixth spattery must be collected from Principles, (Persic L 1, c. 19, 20); Theophines Byenst; (apad Photogod trill, p. 80); St. Theoptones, dir Chronograph, p. 141, 145, 188, 189, 206, 207, who is hill of strongs blanders); Potack, (Specimen Hist, Arab. p. 62, 63) ; d'Herbelot, (Bibliot, Descende, p. 12, ATTS, and Sale's Preliminary Discourse and Koum, & 103s. The revolt of Abrahab to mountound by Percopius; and his full, timoch chaided with mirethe, Man but well for.

CHAP XLIII.

Rebelliums of Africa—Restoration of the Gothic hingition by Totila—Lous and recovery of Rome—Kinal compact of Italy by Narres—Extinction of the Ostrogoths—Defeat of the Franks and Memonis—Last victory, disgrace, and doath of Belianins—Death and character of Justinian—Count, earthquakes, and plague.

KUIII.

The review of the nations from the Danube to the Nile has exposed on every side the weakness of the Romans; and our wonder is reasonably excited that they should presume to enlarge an empire, whose ancient limits they were intapuble of defending. But the wars, the conquests, and the triumphs of Justinian, are the feeble and pernicious efforts of old age, which exhaust the remains of strength, and accelerate the decay of the powers of life. He exulted in the glorious act of restoring Africa and Italy to the republic; but the calamities which followed the departure of Belisarius betrayed the impotence of the conqueror, and accomplished the ruin of those unfortunate countries.

The thusbles of Africa. A. D. 233-545. From his new acquisitions, Justinian expected that his avarice, as well as pride, should be richly gratified. A rapacious minister of the finances closely pursued the footsteps of Belisarius; and as the old registers of tribute had been burnt by the

Vandals, he indulged his fancy in a liberal calcu- CHAT. lation and arbitrary assessment of the wealth of Africa." The increase of taxes, which were drawn away by a distant sovereign, and a general resumption of the patrimony or crown lands, soon dispelled the intoxication of the public joy : but the emperor was insensible to the modest complaints of the people, till be was awakened and alarmed by the clamours of military discontent. Many of the Roman soldiers had married the widows and daughters of the Vandals. their own, by the double right of conquest and inheritance, they claimed the estates which Genseric lind assigned to his victorious troops. They heard with disdain the cold and selfish representations of their officers, that the liberality of Justinian had raised them from a savage or servile condition; that they were already enriched by the spoils of Africa, the treasure, the slaves, and the moveables, of the vanquishest barbarians; and that the ancient and lawful patrimony of the emperors would be applied only to the support of that government on which their own safety and reward must ultimately depend. The mutiny was secretly inflamed by a thousand soldiers, for the most part Heruli, who

KLIII.

had imbibed the doctrines, and were instigated by the ciergy, of the Arian sect; and the cause of perjury and rebellion was sanctified by the dispensing powers of fanaticism. The Arians deplored the ruin of their church, triumphant above a century in Africa; and they were justly provoked by the laws of the conqueror, which interdicted the haptism of their children, and the exercise of all religious worship. Of the Vandals chosen by Belisarius, the far greater part, in the honours of the eastern service, forgot their country and religion. But a generous band of four hundred obliged the mariners, when they were in sight of the isle of Leshos, to alter their course: they touched on Peloponnesus, ran ashore on a desert coast of Africa, and boldly erected, on mount Aurasius, the standard of independence and revalt. While the troops of the province disclaimed the command of their superiors, a conspiracy was formed at Carthage against the life of Solomon, who filled with hopour the place of Belisarius; and the Arians had piously resolved to sacrifice the tyrant at the foot of the altae, during the awful mysteries of the festival of Easter. Fear or remorse restrained the daggers of the assassins, but the patience of Solomon emboldened their discontent; and at the end of ten days, a furious sedition was kindled in the cirens, which desolated Africa above ten years. The pillage of the city, and the indiscriminate slaughter of its inhabitants, were aspended only by darkness, sleep, and intoxication: the governor, with arven companions, among whom was the historian Procopius, escaped to Sicily: two-thirds of the

army were involved in the guilt of treason; and cuar. eight thousand insurgents, assembling in the field of Bulla, elected Stoza for their chief, a private soldier, who possessed, in a superior degree, the virtues of a rebel. Under the mask of freedom. his eloquence could lend, or at least impel, the passions of his equals. He raised himself to a level with Belisarius, and the nephew of the emperor, by during to encounter them in the field; and the victorious generals were compelled to acknowledge, that Stoza deserved a purer cause and a more legitimate command. Vanquished in battle, he desterously employed the acts of negotiation: a Roman army was seduced from their allogiance. and the chiefs, who had trusted to his faithless promise, were murdered, by his order, in a climrely of Numidia. When every resource, either of force or perfuly, was exhausted, Stoza, with some desperate Vandals, retired to the wilds of Mauritinia, obtained the daughter of a furfacian prince, and chaled the pursuit of his enemies, by the report of his death. The personal weight of Belismins, the rank, the spirit, and the temper, of Germanus, the emperor enephew, and the vigour and success of the second administration of the ennucle Solomon, restored the modesty of the camp, and maintained, for a while, the tranquillity of Africa. But the vices of the Byzantime court were felt in that distant province; the troops complained that they were neither pald nor relieved; and as soon as the public disorders were sufficiently mature, Stoza was again alive, in arms, and at the gates of Carthage. He fell in

CHAP.

a single combat, but he smiled in the agonies of death, when he was informed that his own javelin had reached the heart of his antagonist. The example of Stoza, and the assurance that a fortunate soldier had been the first king, encouraged the ambition of Gontharis, and he promised, by a private treaty, to divide Africa with the Moors, if, with their dangerous aid, he should useend the throne of Carthage. The feeble Areabindus, unskilled in the affairs of peace and war. was raised by his marriage with the nierr of Justinian, to the office of exarch. He was suddenly oppressed by a sedition of the guards, and his object supplications, which provoked the contempt, could not move the pity, of the inexorable tyrant. After a reign of thirty days, Gontharis himself was stabled at a banquet, by the hand of Artaban; and it is singular enough, that an Armenian prince, of the royal family of Arsaces, should re-establish, at Carthage, the authority of the Roman enumer. In the conspiracy which unsheathed the dagger of Brutus against the life of Casar, every circumstance is curious and important to the eyes of posterity; but the guilt or merit of these toyal or rebellious assassins could interest only the contemporaries of Procopius, who, by their hopes and fears, their friendship or resentment, were personally enguged in the revolutions of Africa."

[&]quot;Yet I must not referention the specia of pagning, in lively colours, the marries of Gentharts. One of the presence externel a continuent out mayority of a Roman portion—" If I full," soul Astrolous, " in the special country, with my on the special country of my accomplished."

That country was rapidly sinking into the outer. state of barbarism, from whence it had been rais. XLIII. ed by the Phonician colonies and Roman laws: Rosmon and every step of intestine discord was marked of the by some deplorable victory of savage man over A.D. Ma. civilized society. The Moors, though ignorant of justice, were impatient of oppression: their vagrant life and houndless wilderness disappointed the arms, and cluded the chains, of a conqueror; and experience had shewn, that neither oaths nor obligations could secure the fidelity of their attachment. The victory of mount Auras had awed them into momentury submission; but if they respected the character of Solomon, they hated and despised the pride and luxury of his two nephews, Cyrus and Sergius, on whom their uncle had imprudently bestowed the provincial governments of Tripoli and Pentapolis. A Moorish tribe encamped under the walls of Leptis, to renew their alliance, and receive from the governor the customary gifts. Fourscore of their depoties were introduced as friends into the city; but, on the dark suspicion of a conspiracy, they, were managed at the table of Sergius; and the ciamour of arms and revenge was re-echoed through the valleys of mount Atlas, from both the Syrtes to the Atlantic ocean. A personal injury. the unjust execution, or murder, of his brother, rendered Antalus the enemy of the Romans. The defeat of the Vandals had formerly signalized his

[•] The Montiels were are occurrently introduced into the negative of Previous, (Vandali j. a. e. 19-23, 23, 27, 28; Gardin i. vs. e. 17); and Theophisms sidds some prosperiors and adverse example in the last years of January.

XLIII.

ouse, valour; the rudiments of justice and prudence were still more conspicuous in a Moor; and while he hid Adrumstum in ashes, he calmly admonished the emperor that the peace of Africa might be secured by the recal of Solomon and his unworthy nephews. The exarch led forth his troops from Carthage: but, at the distance of six days journey, in the neighbourhood of Tebeste," he was astonished by the superior numbers and florce aspect of the buringings. He proposed a treaty; solicited a reconciliation; and offered to bind himself by the most solemn onths. " By what oaths can he bind himself?" interrupted the indigment Moors, "Will be swear " by the gospels, the divine books of the Christi-" ans? It was on those books that the faith of " his nephew Sergius was pledged to eighty of our innocent and unfortunate brothren. Before " we trust them a second time, let us try their " efficacy in the chastisement of perjury, and the " vindication of their own hopour." Their honour was vindicated in the field of Teheste, by the death of Solomon, and the total loss of his army. The arrival of fresh troops and more skilful commanders, soon checked the insolence of the Moors: seventeen of their princes were slain in the same battle; and the doubtful and transient submission

[&]quot; Now Titosh, in the hingdomn's Algere. It is entired by a tiver, the Sulprass, walls falls into the Mejerda, Alegendary. These is suit remarkable for its waits of large stoom; (like the Callerum of Ricca), a fauntain and a grow of walma-trees the caunty is frintfol, and the mightoning Determes are warnied. It appears from an inuraption, that make the colon of Advian, the road from Corthago to Tehave the constructed by the third legion, (Marmill Description de PAirland, time 25, p. 443, 443, Shan's Transic, p. 64, 65, 66).

XLIII.

of their tribes was celebrated with lavish applause by the people of Constantinople. Succossive inroads had reduced the province of Afrien to one-third of the measure of Italy; vet the Roman emperors continued to reign above a century over Carthage, and the fruitful coast. of the Mediterranean. But the victories and the losses of Justinian were alike pernicious to mankind; and such was the desolution of Africa, that in many parts a stranger might wander whole days without meeting the face either of a friend or an enemy. The nation of the Vandals had disappeared; they once amounted to an hundred and sixty thousand warriors, without inchalling the children, the women, or the slaves, Their numbers were infinitely surpassed by the number of the Moorish families extirpated in a relentless war ; and the same destruction was retaliated on the Romans and their affice, who porished by the climate, their mutual quarrels, and the rage of the barbarians. When Procopius first landed, he admired the populousness of the cities and country, stremously exercised in the labours of commerce and agriculture. In less than twenty years, that busy scene was converted inton silent solitude; the wealthy citizens escaped to Sicily and Constantinople; and the secret historian has confidently affirmed, that five millions of Africans were consumed by the wars and government of the emporer Justinian."

The jealousy of the Byzantine court had not name of

^{*} Proceedings, Arcoid at on 19. The entire of the African himney at-

VOL VII.

XXIII.

CRAF. permitted Bellsurius to achieve the conquest of Italy : and his abrupt departure revived the courage of the Goths, who respected his genius, his virtue, and even the laudable motive which and urged the servant of Justinian to decrive and reject them. They had lost their king, (an inconsiderable loss), their capital, their treasures, the provinces from Sicily to the Alps, and the military force of two hundred thousand barbarians, magnificently equipped with horses and arms. Yet all was not lost, as long as Pavia was defended by one thousand Goths, inspired by a sense of honour, the love of freedom, and the memory of their past greatness. The supreme command was unanimously offered to the braye Urains; and it was in his eyes alone that the disgrace of his uncle Vitiges could appear as a reason of exclusion. His voice inclined the election in favour of Hildibald. whose personal merit was recommended by the vain hope that his kinsman Theudes, the Spanish monarch, would support the common interest of the Gothic nation. The success of his arms in Liguria and Venetia seemed to justify their choice; but he soon declared to the world, that he was incapable of forgiving or communding his benefactor. The consert of Hildibald was deeply wounded by the beauty, the riches, and the pride

f In the second to life and third bodie, to 1-40). Proceptin conresure the bisley of the Guith war from the fifth to the fifteenth past of Justicians. As the summe are then interesting their in the harmon period, for affects only half the square to double the time. Jes pumber and the Charmele of Morrellinus, afford none sufficient blatte. See guilles. Pagt. Curatori, Muscou, see 15. Rest, are unclut, and have been wed.

of the wife of Urains; and the death of that vir- CHAP. tuous patriot excited the indignation of a free peo-A bold assassin executed their sentence by striking off the head of Hildihald in the midst of a banquet: the Rugians, a foreign tribe, assumed the privilege of election; and Totila, thenephew of the late king, was tempted, by revenge, to deliver himself and the garrison of Trevigo into the hands of the Romans. But the gallant and accomplished youth was easily persuaded to prefer the Gothic throne before the service of Justinian; and as soon as the palace of Pavia had been purified from the Rugian usurper, he reviewed the national force of five thousand soldiers, and generously undertook the restoration of the kingdom of Italy.

The successors of Belisarius, eleven generals of Vetarios of Tenta, equal rank, neglected to crush the feeble and disc king of united Goths, till they were roused to action by hay, the progress of Totils and the reproaches of Justi- 34. nian. The gates of Verona were secretly opened to Artabazus, at the head of one hundred Persians in the service of the empire. The Goths fled from the city. At the distance of sixty furlongs the Roman generals halted to regulate the division of the spoil. While they disputed, the enemy discovered the real number of the victors: the Persians were instantly overpowered, and it was by leaping from the wall that Artabazus preserved a life which he lost in a few days by the lance of a barbarian, who had defied him to single combat. Twenty thousand Romans encountered the forces of Totila, near Faenza, and on the hills of Mugello, of the Florentine territory. The ardour of

CHAP.

freedmen, who fought to regain their country, was opposed to the languid temper of mercenary troops, who were even destitute of the merits of strong and well-disciplined servitude. On the first attack they abandoned their ensigns, threw down their arms, and dispersed small sides with an acrive speed which abated the loss, whilst it aggravated the shame, of their defeat. The king of the Goths, who blushed for the Inseriess of his enemies, pursued with rapid steps the path of howner and victory. Tottle pussed the Po, traver-saf the Apennine, suspended the important conquest of Raveisto, Plorence, and Rome, and marched through the heart of linly, to form the siege, or rather blockade, of Naples: The Roman chiefs, Imprisoned in their respective cities, and accusing each other of the common disgrace, did not presume to disturb his enterprise. But the emperor, darmed by the distress and danger of his Italian conquests, despatched to the relief of Naples a fleet of galleys and a body of Thracian and Armenian soldiers. They landed in Sicily, which yielded its copious stores of provisions; but the delays of the new commander, an unwarlike magistrate, protracted the sufferings of the besieged; and the succours, which he dropt with a timbl and tardy hand, were successively intercepted by the armed vessels stationed by Totila in the bay of Naples. The principal officer of the Romans was dragged, with a rope round his neck, to the fout of the wall, from whence, with a trembling voice, he exhorted the citizens to implore, like himself, the mercy of the conqueror. They requested a truck,

with a promise of surrendering the city, if no of- citar; feetual relief should appear at the end of thirty Nim: days. Instead of one month, the audacious barbarian granted them three, in the just confidence that famine would anticipate the term of their capitulation. After the reduction of Nantes and Cume, the provinces of Lucania, Apulia, and Calabria, submitted to the king of the Goths. Totila led his army to the gates of Rome, pitched his camp at Tibur, or Tivoli, within twenty miles of the capital, and calmly exhorted the senate and people to compare the tyrmny of the Greeks with the blessings of the Gothic reign.

The rapid success of Totila may be partly as Contract scribed to the revolution which three years expertator. rience had produced in the sentiments of the Italians. At the command, or at least in the name, of a catholic emperor, the poper their spiritual father, had been torn from the Roman church, and either starved or murdered on a desolate island." The virtues of Belisarius were replaced by the various or uniform vices of eleven chiefs, at Rome,

Ravenna, Florence, Perugia, Spoleto, &c. who abused their authority for the includence of last or avarice. The improvement of the revenue was committed to Alexander, a subtle scribe, long

^{*} Sylvarian, bishop of Rome, may first trapsported to Pattern, in Lyon, and at beauty started out come methal inche modernic) to the late of Patemers, A. D. 558, June 20, (Liberal in Browler, a 22 Annahim la Silveria, Maryonia, A. D. 340, Nr. J. J. Page (3 Vit. Form tom. i. p. 280, 286). Principlus (Amendet. c. I) accuses poly the ampress and Amount.

^{*} Palmonia, a small island, opposite to Terrarina and the coast of - Volume (Clares, Hal, Antiquil, in, c. V. p. 1014).

XLIII.

CHAP, practised in the fraud and oppression of the Byzantine schools; and whose name of Psulliction, the seissars, was drawn from the dexterous artifice with which he reduced the size, without defacing the figure, of the gold coin. Instead of expecting the restoration of peace and industry, he imposed an heavy assessment on the fortunes of the Italians. Yet his present or future demands were less odings than a prosecution of arbitrary rigour against the persons and property of all these, who, under the Gothic kings, had been concerned in the receipt and expenditure of the public money. The subjects of Justinian, who escaped these partial vexations, were oppressed by the irregular maintenance of the soldiers, whom Alexander defrauded and despised; and their hasty sallies in quest of wealth, or subsistence, provoked the inhabitants of the country to await or implore their deliverance from the virtues of a barbarian. Totila was chaste and temperate : and none were deceived, either friends or enemics, who depended on his faith or his elemency. To the husbandmen of Italy the Gothic king issued a welcome proclamation, enjoining them to pursue their important labours, and to rest assured, that, on the payment of the ordinary taxes they should be defended by his valour and discipline from the injuries of war. The

[.] As the Lagothere Alexander, and must at his siril and military colleagues, even entire diagraced in displaced, the link of the Annediction to. 4, 5, 18) to searcedy blacker than that of the Gothir History, Gell, c. l. S. t. 9, 20, 21, &c.)

^{*} Prompins (Lill, r. S. *, Any does umple and willing justice to the merit of Totals. The Bormer histories, from Sallant and Tantoo, were happy to larget the vary of their countrymen in the extetemplation of teacharic status.

strong towns he successively attacked; and as CHAR. soon as they had yielded to his arms, he demolished the fortifications; to save the people from the calamities of a future siege, to deprive the Romans of the arts of defence, and to decide the tedious quarrel of the two nations, by an equal and honourable conflict in the field of battle. The Roman captives and deserters were tempted to inlist in the service of a liberal and courteans adversary: the slaves were attracted by the firm and faithful promise, that they should never be delivered to their masters; and from the thousand surriers of Pavia, a new people, under the same appellation of Goths, was insensibly formed in the camp of Totila. He sincerely accomplished the articles of capitulation, without seeking or accepting any sinister advantage from ambiguous expressions or unforeseen events; the garrison of Naples had stipulated, that they should be transported by sea; the obstinucy of the winds prevented their voyage, but they were generously supplied with horses, provisions, and a safe conduct to the gates of Rome. The wives of the senators, who had been surprised in the villas of Campania, were restored, without a ransom, to their business; the violation of female chastity was inexpendly chastised with death; and, in the salutary regulation of the diet of the famished Neapolitans, the conqueror assumed the office of an humane and attentive physician. The virtues of Totila are equally laudable, whether they proceeded from true policy, religious principle, or the instinct of humanity; he often harangued his troops; and it was his constant theme, that naXLIII.

tional vice and rain are inseparably connected; that victory is the fruit of moral as well as military virtue; and that the prince, and even the people, are responsible for the crimes which they neglect to punish.

Seemi communit of Bellesvine in Ituly. JAK.

The return of Belisprius to save the country which he had subdued, was pressed with equal vehemence by his friends and enemies; and the A. D. MI. Gothic war was imposed us a trust or an exile on the veteran commander. An hero on the banks of the Emphrates, a slave in the palace of Constantinople, he accepted, with reluctance, the painful task of supporting his own reputation, and retrieving the faults of his successors. The sea was open to the Romans: the ships and soldiers were assembled at Salona, near the palace of Diocletian: he refreshed and reviewed his troops at Pola in Istria, consteal round the head of the Hadriatic, enterral the port of Ravenna, and despatched orders rather than supplies to the subordinate cities. His first public oration was addressed to the Cothsand Romans, in the name of the emperor, who had suspended for a while the conquest of Persia, and listened to the prayers of his Italian subjects. He gently touched on the causes and the authors of the recent disasters; striving to remove the fear of punishment for the past, and the hope of unpunity for the future, and labouring, with more real than success, to unite all the members of his government in a firm league of affection and obedience. Justinian, his gracious master, was inclined to pardon and reward; and it was their interest, as well as duty, to reclaim their deluded

brethren, who had been seduced by the arts of CHAR. the usurper. Not a mandwas tempted to desert the standard of the Gothic king. Belisaring som discovered, that he was sent to remain the idle and impotent spectator of the glocy of a young harbarian; and his own epistle exhibits a genuine and lively picture of the distress of a nable mind -" Most excellent prince, we are arrived in Italy, " destitute of all the necessary implements of war, "men, horses, arms, and money. In our late " circuit through the villages of Thrace and Hig-" ricom, we have collected, with extreme difficul-" ty, about four thousand recruits, mised, and on-" skilled in the use of weapons and the exercises of the cause. The soldiers already stationed in " the province are discontented, fearful, and dis-" mayed; at the sound of an enemy, they dis-" miss their horses, and cast their arms on the " ground. No taxes can be raised, since Italy is " in the hands of the barbarians; the failure of " payment has deprived us of the right of command, or even of admonition. Be assured, " dread sir, that the greater part of your troops " have already deserted to the Goths. If the war " could be achieved by the presence of Belisari-" us alone, your wishes are satisfied; Belisarius " is in the midst of Italy. But if you desire to " conquer, far other preparations are requisite; " without a military force, the title of general is " an empty name. It would be expedient to re-" store to my service my own veterans and domes-" tie guards. Before I can take the field, I must " receive an adequate supply of light and heavy

CHAP.

" armed troops; and it is only with ready money. " that you can procure the indispensable aid of " a powerful body of the cavalry of the Huns," An officer in whom Belisarins confided was sent from Ravenna to husten and conduct the succours; but the message was neglected, and the messenger was detained at Constantinople by an advantageous marriage. After his patience had been exhausted by delay and disappointment, the Roman general repassed the Hadriatic, and expected at Dyrrachium the arrival of the troops, which were slowly assembled among the subjects and allies of the empire. His powers were still inadequate to the deliverance of Rome, which was closely besieged by the Gothic king. The Appinn way, a march of forty days, was covered by the barbarians; and as the prudence of Belisarius declined a battle, he preferred the safe and speedy navigation of five days from the coast of Epirus to the mouth of the Tiber.

Home besieged by the Gette, A. D. 546, May.

After reducing, by force or treaty, the towns of inferior note in the midland provinces of Italy, Totila proceeded, not to assault, but to encompass and starve, the ancient capital. Rome was afflicted by the avarice, and guarded by the valour, of Bessas, a veteran chief of Gothic extraction, who filled, with a garrison of three thousand soldiers, the spacious circle of her venerable walls. From the distress of the people he extracted a profitable trade, and secretly rejoiced in the continu-

[&]quot;Prompting Is in, c. 12. The unit of an here is desprey impressed on the letter a new can we confirmed such granting and original acts with the elaborate and often empty speeches of the Byzantine histories.

OP:THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

ancoof the siege. It was for his use that the granuries had been replenished the charity of Pope Vi-Statt. gillus had purchased and embarked are might sugply of Sicilian corn; but the vessels which camped the borbarians were seized by a rapacious governor, who imparted a scanty sustenance to the soldiers, and sold the remainder to the wealthy Romans. The mediamus, or fifth part of the quarter of wheat, was exchanged for seven pieces of gold; fifty pieces were given for an ox, a rare and accidental prize; the progress of famine enhanced this excepitant value, and the morcenaries were tempted to deprive themselves of the allowance which was scarcely sufficient for the support of life. A tasteless and unwholesome mixture, in which the bean thrice exceeded the quantity of flour, appeased the hunger of the poor; they were gradually reduced to feed on dead horses, dogs, cats, and mice, and engerly to snatch the grass, and even the nettles, which grew among the ruins of the city. A crowd of spectres, pale and emaciated, their bodies oppressed with disease, and their minds with despair, surrounded the palace of the governor, urged, with unavailing truth, that it was the duty of a master to maintain his slaves, and humbly requested, that he would provide for their subsistence, permit their flight, or command their immediate execution. Bessas replied, with unfeeling tranquillity, that it was impossible to feed, unsufe to dismiss, and unlawful to kill, the subjects of the emperor. Yet the example of a private citizen might have shown his countrymen, that a tyrant cannot

NAME

withhold the privilege of death. Pierced by the cries of five children, who vainly called on their father for bread, he ordered them to follow his steps, advanced withcalm and silent despair to one of the bridges of the Tiber, and, covering his face, threw himself headlong into the stream, in the presence of his family and the Roman people. To the rich and pusillanimous, Bessas" sold the permission of departure; but the greatest part of the fugitives expired on the public highways, or wereintercepted by the flying parties of barbarians. In the meanwhile, the artful governor soothed the discontent, and revived the hopes, of the Romans, by the vague reports of the fleets and armies which were hastening to their relief from the extremities of the East. They derived more rational comfort from the assurance that Belisacius had landed at the port; and, without numbering his force, they firmly relied on the humanity, the courage, and the skill of their great deliverer.

of Bellions

The foresight of Totila had raised obstacles worthy of such an antagonist. Ninety furlongs below the city, in the narrowest part of the river, he joined the two banks by strong and solid timbers in the form of a bridge; on which be erected two lofty towers, manned by the bravest of his Goths, and profusely stored with missile wea-

The exprise of Herman is not dissembled by Principlina, G. iii. c. 57, 20. He explained this last of Romes by the glorious composed of Petron, (Goth, L. iv. c. 18). But the same view followed but from the Time to the Phinas, (c. 13); and the bisaction is equally time to this counts and defects of his character. The characteristic much the attrict of the common of Helicare has indicated on the opposite of it may as much acceptable to justice than to history.

pous and engines of bifence. The approach of Chr. the bridge and towers was covered by a strong and massy chain of icon; and the chain, at cither end, on the opposite sides of the Tiber, was defended by a numerous and chosen detuchment of archers. But the enterprise of forcing these barriers, and relieving the conital displays a shining example of the boldness and comfact of Belisurius. His cavalry advanced from the port along the public road, to awe the motions and distract the attention of the enemy. His infantry and provisions were distributed in two hundred large boats; and each boat was shielded by an high rumpart of thick planks, pierced with many small holes for the disclarge of missile weapons. In the front, two large vessels were linked together to sustain a floating eastle, which commanded the towersof the bridge, and contained a magazine of fire, sulphur, and bitumen: The whole fleet, which the general led in person, was laboriously moved against the current of the river. The chain yielded to their weight, and the enemies who guarded the banks were either alain or scattered. As soon as they touched the principal barrier, the fire-ship was instantly grappled to the bridge; one of the towers with two hundred Goths, was consumed by the flames; the assailants shouted victory; and Rome was saved, if the wisdom of Belisarius had not been defeated by the miscondart of his officers. He had previously sent orders to Bessus to second his operations by a timely sally from the town; and he had fixed his lieutenant, Isano, by a peremptory command, to the station of the port. But avarice

366 cn 82

rendered Bessus immovable; while the vouthful ardour of Isaac delivered film into the hands of a superior enemy. The exaggerated rumour of his defent was hartily carried to the carsof Belisarius; he paused; betrayed in that single moment of his life same emotions of surprise and perplexity; and rehierantly sounded aretreat to save his wife Antoning, his tremures, and the only harbour which he possessed on the Tuscon coast. The vexation of his mind produced an ordent and almost mortal fever; and Rome was left without protection to the mercy or indignation of Totila. The continuance of hostilities had embittered the national hatred, the Arian clergy was ignominiously driven from Rome; Pelagius, the archdeacon, returned without success from an embassy to the Gothic camp; and a Sicilian bishop, the envoy or nuncio of the pope, was deprived of both his hands, for during to utter falsehoods in the service of the church and state.

Riems salve by the Gotha, A. D. 540, Dec. 17. Pamine had relaxed the strength and discipline of the garrison of Rome. They could derive no effectual service from a dying people; and the inhuman avarice of the merchant at length absorbed the vigilance of the governor. Four Isanrian sentinels, while their companions slept, and theirofficers were absent, descended by a rope from the wall, and secretly proposed to the Gothic king to introduce his troops into the city. The offer was entertained with coldness and suspicion; they returned in safety; they twice repeated their visit; the place was twice examined; the conspiracy was known and disregarded; and no sooner had Totila

consented to the attempt, than they unbarred the cual. Asinarian gate, and gava admittance to the Goths. Night. Till the dawn of day they halted in order or battle. apprehensive of treachery or ambush; but the troops of Bessas, with their leader, had already escaped; and when the king was pressed to disturb their retreat, he prodently replied, that no sight could be more grateful than that of allying enemy. The patricians, who were still possessed of horses, Decius, Basilius, &c. accompanied the governor; their brethren, among whom Olybrius, Orestus, and Maximus, are named by the historian, took refuge in the church of St. Peter; but the assertion, that only five hundred persons remained in the capital, inspires some doubt of the fidelity either of his narrative or of his text. As soon as daylight had displayed the entire victory of the Goths. their monarch devoutly visited the tomb of the prince of the apostles; but while he prayed at the altar, twenty-five soldiers, and sixty citizens, were put to the sword in the vestibule of the temple. The archdeacon Pelagius" stood before him with the gospels in his hand. "O Lord, be merci-" ful to your servant." " Pelagins," said Totila with an insulting smile, " your pride now conde-" seemls to become a suppliant." " I am a suppli-" ant," replied the prudent archdeacon; "God has " now made us your subjects, and as your subjects

^{*} Thiring the long case, and offer the shoch of Vigilias, the flatons church was governed, at first by the arthdrawin, and at length (A. D. 250) by the pupe Pringins, who was not thought guildless of the sufferings of his predression. See the original lives of the population the name of Anamasius, (Muratori, Stript. Rev. Italianaem, tom, in, P. I., p. 130, 131), who estates arrend authors increases the sieges of flaton and the ways of Italy.

368

clear. " we are entitled to your elemency." At his kinning humble prayer, the less of the Romans were spured; and the chastity of the malds and matrons was preserved inviolate from the passions of the bungry soldiers. But they were rewarded by the freedom of pillage, after the most precious spoils had been reserved for the royal treasury. The houses of the senators were plentifully stored with gold and silver; and the avarice of Bessas had laboured with so much guilt and shame for the benefit of the conqueror. In this revolution, the sons and shughters of Roman consuls tasted the misery which they had spurned or relieved, wandered in tuttered garments through the streets of the city, and begged their bread, perhaps without success, before the gutes of their hereditary mansions. The riches of Rusticians, the daughter of Symmuchus and widow of Boethius, had been generously devoted to alleviate the calamities of famine. But the barbarians were exasperated by the report, that she had prompted the people to overthrow the statues of the great Theodoric; and the life of that venerable matron would have been sacrificed to his memory, if Totila had not respected her birth, her virtues, and even the pions motive of her revenge. The next day he pronounced two crations, to congratulate and admisnish his victorious Goths, and to reproach the senate, as the vilest of slaves, with their perjury, folly, and ingratitude; sternly declaring, that their estates and honours were justly forfelted to the compunious of his arms. Yet he consented to forgive their revolt, and the senators repaid his elemency

CHSY. XLIIL

by despatching circular letters to their tenants and vassals in the provinces of Italy, strictly to enjoin them to desert the standard of the Greeks. to cultivate their lands in peace, and to learn from their masters the duty of obedience to a Gothic sovereign. Against the city which had so long delayed the course of his victories be appeared inexorable; one-third of the walls, in different parts, were demolished by his command; fire and engines prepared to consume, or subvert. the most stately works of antiquity; and the world was astonished by the fatal decree, that Rome should be changed into a pasture for cattle. The firm and temperate remonstrance of Belisarius suspended the execution; he warned the barbaring not to sally his fame by the destruction of those monuments which were the glory of the dead, and the delight of the living; and Totils was persuaded, by the advice of an enemy, to preserve Rome as the ornament of his kingdom, or the fairest pledge of peace and reconciliation. When he had signified to the ambassadors of Belisnrius, his intention of sparing the city, he stationed an army at the distance of one hundred and twenty furlangs, to observe the motions of the Roman general. With the remainder of his forces, he marched into Lucania and Apulia, and occupied, on the summit of mount Garganus,"

^{*} Mount Carganus, now Monte St. Angelo, in the kingdom of Naples, runs three hundred stadia and the Adviate era, (Srath & vi. p. 835), and in the darker ages was liberaried by the apparettes, mirrories, and thursts of St. Michael the archanget. Hornor, a native of Apulle or Lounie, had seen the error and oaks of Garganus labouring and hel-

[&]quot;VOL. V15.

XLIII.

CHAP, one of the camps of Hamibal." The senators were dragged in his train, and afterwards confined in the fortresses of Campunia: the citizens, with their wives and children, were dispersed in exile; and during forty days Rome was abandoned to desolate and dreary solitude.

Recovered by Belliarint. A. D. 547. behruary.

The loss of Rome was speedily retrieved by an action, to which, according to the event, the public opinion would apply the names of rashness or heroism. After the departure of Totila, the Roman general sallied from the part at the head of a thousand horse, cut in pieces the enemy who opposed his progress, and visited with pity and reverence the vacant space of the elernal city. Resolved to maintain a station so conspicuous in the eyes of mankind, he summoned the greatest part of his troops to the standard which he erected on the Capitol: the old inhabitants were recalled by the love of their country and the hopes of food; and the keys of Rome were sent a second time to the emperor Justinian. The walls, as far as they land been demolished by the Goths, were repaired with rude and disaimilar muturials; the ditch was restored;

lowing with the north wind that him on that only result, (Carp. in 9. Epist. H. t. 201)

. I cannot associate this particular camp of Haussled; but the Pania quarters were long and often in the neighbourhood of Arge, (T. Liv.

2211, 9, 12; 221y, 2, Ac.;

^{*} Totila Romain ingreditur . . . ar evertir murrer floress allquantas igni compurent, as smuos Romanotium rus in product acsepit, has these Romanes in Campenians captives abdusts. Post quandevastationem, at any amplifes dies, Room fait na desitate, at semi-Hi Benticorn, nisi (wife ?) bettie movarrister, (Marrellin, is Chro-T- 54%

iron spikes" were professly scattered in the high- chap. ways to annoy the fact of the horses; and as XLIII. new gates could not suddenly be procured, the entrance was guarded by a Sportin ramport of his bravest soldiers. At the expiration of twentyfive days. Totila returned by husty marches from Apulla, to avenge the injury and disgrace. Belisarius expected his approach. The Goths were thrice repulsed in three general assaults; they lost the flower of their troops; the royal standard had almost fallen into the bands of the enemy, and the fame of Totila sunk, as it had risen, with the fortune of his arms. Whatever skill and courage could achieve, bad been performed by the Roman general; it remained only, that Justinian should terminate, by a strong and seasonable effort, the war which be had ambitiously undertaken. The indolence, perhaps the impotence, of a prince who despised his enemies, and envied his servants, protracted the calamities of Italy. After a long silence, Belisaring was commanded to leave a sufficient garrison at Rome, and to transport himself into the province of Lucania, whose inhabitants, influmed by entholic zeal, had cast away the yoke of their Arian conquerors. In this ignoble warfare, the hero, invincible against the power of the harbarians, was basely vanquished by the delay, the disobedience, and the cowardice of

^{*} The robali are small angless with their spikes, one fixed in the present, the three others court or afterno. (Promptes, Gother, L tile c. 14. Just Lipsius, Pelinrostes, L v. c. 3). The methodice was borrowed from the tribuil, (fand-address), an high with a prickly foult remmes in Italy, (Martin, of Virgil, Georgic, i, 183, out is, p. 23).

CHAP.

his own officers. He reposed in his winterquarters of Crotona, in the full assurance, that the two passes of the Lucanian hills were guarded by his cavalry. They were betrayed by treachery or weakness; and the rapid march of the Goths scurcely allowed time for the escape of Belisarius to the coast of Sicily. At length a fleet and army were assembled for the relief of Ruscianum, or Rossano,' a fortress sixty furlongs from the ruins of Sybaris, where the nobles of Lucania had taken refuge. In the first attempt, the Roman forces were dissipated by a storm. In the second they approached the shore; but they saw the hills covered with archers, the landing-place defended by a line of spears, and the king of the Goths imputient for battle. The conqueror of Italy retired with a sigh, and contimed to languish, inglorious and inactive till Antonina, who had been sent to Constantinople to solicit succours, obtained, after the death of the empress, the permission of his return.

Final rocal of Belianrice, A. D. 548, September-

The five last campaigns of Belisarius might abate the envy of his competitors, whose eyes had been dazzled and wounded by the blaze of his former glory. Instead of delivering Italy from the Goths, he had wondered like a fugitive along the coast, without daring to march into the country, or to accept the bold and repeated challenge of Totila-Yet in the judgment of the few who could discri-

Bescia, the squade Plantacian, was transferred to the distance of sarry mains to Rosersman, Bossess, an archibitopric without suffraguna. The expublic of Sylarts is more the extent of the during of Corneliano, (Rosers, Travels into Magna Gravia and Active is 106-171).

OF THE DOMAN EMPIRE.

minate counsels from avents, and compare the in- CHAP. struments with the execution, he appeared a more consummate master of the art of war, than in the season of his prosperity, when he presented two captive kines before the throne of Justinian. The valoue of Belisarius was not chilled by age; his prudence was matured by experience, but the moral virtues of humanity and justice seem to have yielded to the hard necessity of the times. The parsimony or poverty of the emperor compelled him to deviate from the role of conduct which had deserved the love and confidence of the Italians. The war was maintained by the oppression of Ruvenna, Sicily, and all the faithful subjects of the empire; and the rigorous prosecution of Herodian provoked that injured or guilty officer to deliver Spoleto into the hands of the enemy. The avarice of Antonina, which had been sometimes diverted by love, now reigned without a rival in her breast. Belisarius bimself had always understood, that riches, in a corrupt age, are the support and ornament of personal merit. And it cannot be presumed that he should stain his honour for the public service, without applying a part of the spail to his private emolument. The hero had escaped the sword of the barbarians, but the dagger of conspiracy awaited his return. In the midst of wealth and honours, Artalum, who had chastised the African tyrunt, complained of the ingratitude of courts. He aspired to Præjecta, the empe-

^{*} This companies to related by Precopine (Gothin, 1, iii., a. 31, 32) with such freedom and conducts, that the Shorty of the American given him sections to add.

CHAY.

ror's niece, who wished to reward her deliverer but the impediment of his previous marriage was asserted by the piety of Theodora. The pride of royal descent was irritated by flattery; and the service in which he gloried, and proved him capable of bold and sanguinary deeds. The death of Justinian was resolved, but the conspirators delayed the execution till they could surprise Belisarius disarmed, and naked, in the paince of Constantinople. Not a hope could be entertained of shaking his long-tried fidelity; and they justly dreaded the revenge, or rather justice, of the visteran general, who might speedily assemble an army in Thrace to punish the assassins, and perhaps to enjoy the fruits of their crime. Delay afforded time for rash communications and honest confessions: Artahan and his accomplices were condemned by the senate, but the extreme clemency of Justinian detained them in the gentle confinement of the palace, till he pardoned their flagitious attempt against his throne and life. If the emperor forgave his enemies, he must cordially embrace a friend whose victories were alone remembered, and who was endeared to his prince by the recent circumstance of their common danger. Belisarius reposed from his toils, in the high station of general of the East and count of the domestics; and the older consuls and patricians respectfully yielded the precedency of rank to the peerless merit of the first of the Romans."

^{*}The honours of Belivarius are glady commissioned by his occurry, (Procops Grift Litt, c. 35: Liv. c. 21). The talk of Expersus is ill pranciated, at least in this impance, by pressents practice; said to a pattern.

The first of the Rossans still submitted to be CHAP. the slave of his wife; but the servitude of habit XLHL and affection became less disgraceful when the death of Theodora had removed the baser influence of fear. Jounning their daughter, and the sole heiress of their fortunes, was betrothed to Anastosius, the grandson or rather the nephew, of the empress," whose kind interposition forwarded the consummation of their youthful loves. But the power of Theodora expired. the parents of Joannino returned, and her honour, perhaps her happiness, were sacrificed to the revenge of an unfeeling mother, who dissolved the imperfect nuptials before they had been ratified by the ceremonies of the church?

Before the departure of Belisarius, Perusia was Rem besieged, and few cities were impregnable to the taken by Gothic arms. Ravenna, Ancona, and Crotona, to Goths, still resisted the barburians; and when Totila asked

military character, magister militims to mine proper and applicable, (Documes, Glass, Grave, p. 1438, 1459)

* Alemanum, not Hist. Avenum, p. 68); Discourse, (Forellia Bynant, p. 60s, and Honorous, third, Julis Civilia, p. 430s, all there represent Assuming as the san of the daughter of Theodorn; and their coming firmly reposes on the counterwest untinent of Primpler, (America, e. 4, 5-depends two renewed). And jet I will remark, La That in the year \$47, Thusdon could scarcely have a granden of the age of polycry, 2. That we are totally ignorant of this doughter and her he-bouilty still, the That Throdier concentration hasterds, and that her grantless by decreases would have been here apparent of the rumpfre-

P The property on one of the new to Italy and other harrows. are manifested everyean server, and most probably simplied, by the sethat of the Amediates, (r. b. b). The designs of America were tocontrol by the fluctuating paragraphs of Justinian. On the law of morrouge and divorce, that emperor was truthe versatillar, (Haumertime Element, Justa Civil, ad Ordiners Pandert, P. In. No. 2001.

CHAP. in marriage one of the daughters of France, he was stung by the just reproach that the king of Italy was unworfny of his title till it was acknowledged by the Roman people. Three thousand of the bravest soldiers had been left to defend the capital. On the suspicion of a monopoly, they massacred the governor, and announced to Justinian, by a deputation of the clergy, that unless their offence was pardoned and their arrears were satisfied, they should instantly accept the tempting offers of Totila. But the officer who succeeded to the command (his name was Diogenes) deserved their esteem and confidence; and this Goths, instead of finding an easy conquest, encountered a vigorous resistance from the soldiers and people, who patiently endured the loss of the port, and of all mantime supplies. The siege of Rome would perhaps have been ruised, if the Hberality of Totila to the Iszurians had not encouraged some of their venal countrymen to copy the example of treason. In a dark night, while the Gothic trumpets sounded on another side, they silently opened the gate of St. Paul: the barbarians rushed into the city; and the flying garrison was intercepted before they could reach the harbour of Centumcellae. A soldier trained in the school of Belisarius, Paul of Cilicia, retired with four hundred men to the mole of Hadrian. They repelled the Goths; but they felt the approach of famine; and their aversion to the taste of horse-flesh confirmed their resolution torisk the event of a desperate and decisive sally. But their spirit insensibly stooped to the offers of capitala-

tion: they retrieved their arrears of pay, and pre- CHAF. served their arms and horses, by inlisting in the XLIII. service of Totila; their chiefs, who pleaded a laudable attachment to their wives and children in the East, were dismissed with honour; and above four hundred enemies, who had taken refuge in the sanctuaries, were saved by the elemency of the victor. He no longer entertained a wish of dostroying the edifices of Rome," which he now respected us the seat of the Gothic kingdom: the senate and people were restored to their country; the means of subsistence were liberally provided: and Totila, in the robe of peace, exhibited the equestrian games of the circus. Whilst he amused the eyes of the multitude, four hundred vessels were prepared for the embarkation of his troops. The cities of Rhegium and Tarentum were reduced: he passed into Sicily, the object of his implacable resentment; and the island was stripped of its gold and silver, of the fruits of the earth, and of an infinite number of horses, sheep, and exen. Sardinia and Corsica obeyed the fortune of Italy; and the sea-coast of Greece was visited by a fleet of three hundred galleys. The

[.] The Rimene were still exteched to the ensembles of their apcertain I and exceeding to Processins, (Guth, I. iv. c. 22), the galley of Merce, of a single read of mar, 25 feet is birnight, 220 in Leagth, was preserved entire in the navalia, near Monte Tenance, at the forof the Assettine, (Nardon, Room Antica, & via, c. 9, p. 182. Penttur, Bonne Antique, L iv. t. 13, p. 334). But all entiquity is ignorant of this visit by

^{*} In these year, Proceeding searched without success for the lide of Calypus. He was shown, at Phoneric or Compan, the patrified ship of Ulysees, (Odyes will, 100); that he hame it a turner fabric of many shows, definited by a merchant to Jupine Caralta, (L. 19, c. 22). Restarbitus find supported it to be the fagerful likeness of a rock-

CHAP. Goths were landed in Convyra and the ancient continent of Egirus; they advanced as far as Nicopolis, the trophy of Augustus, and Dodonn, once famous by the oracle of Jove. In every step of his victories, the wise barbarian repeated to Justinian his desire of peace, applauded the concord of their predecessors, and offered to emplay the Gothic arms in the service of the empire.

Prepurstions of Josephines. Vor the Gos stile war. A. D. 045-EST.

Justinian was deaf to the voice of peace; but he neglected the prosecution of war; and the indolence of his temper disappointed; in some degree, the obstinacy of his passions. From this salutary slumber the emperor was awakened by the pope Vigilius and the patrician Cethegus, who appeared before his throne, and adjured him, in the name of God and the people, to resume the conquest and deliverance of Italy. In the choice of the generals, caprice, as well as judgment, was shewn. A fleet and army sailed for the relief of Sicily under the conduct of Liberius; but his youth and want of experience were afterwards discovered, and before he touched the shores of the island he was overtaken by his successor. In the place of Liberius, the conspirator Artaban was raised from a prison to military benours; in the pious presumption, that gratitude would animate his valour and fortify his allegiance. Belisarius reposed in the shade of his laurels, but the command of the principal

M. d'Arville (Memoires de l'Acad. tom. axxii. p. 519-528) illumratus the gulf of Amhousts; but he county assertaint he elipstion of Dodern. A country to sight of Italy to less known than the wilds of America-

nemy was reserved for Germanus," the emperor's CHAR. nephew, whose rank and merit had been long depressed by the jealous' of the court. Theodorn had injured him in the rights of a private citizen, the marriage of his children, and the testanuant of his brother; and although his conduct was pure and blameless, Justinian was displeased that he should be thought worthy of the confidence of the indecentents. The life of Germanus was a lesson of implicit obedience : be nobly refused to prestitute his name and character in the factions of the circus; the gravity of his manners was tempered by innocent cheerfulliess; and his riches were lent without interest to indigent or deserving friends. His valour had formerly triumphed over the Sclavonians of the Danube and the rebels of Africa: the first report of his promotion revived the hopes of the Italians; and he was privately assured, that a crowd of Roman deserters would alandon, on his approach, the standard of Totila. His second marriage with Malasontha, the grand-daughter of Theodorie, endeared Cermames to the Goths themselves; and they marched with reluctance against the father of a royal infant, the last offspring of the line of Amali. A splendid allowance was assigned by the em-

[&]quot; See the acts of Germania in the public (Vandal, I. it, c. 14, 17, In: Goth. J. (it. p. 111, 22) and private blother, (Annudet, p. 3); and these of his son Findin, in Agestina, (f. 57, p. 120, 121). Noticehstanding us configurate appreciate of Japaneses, fratel and, Alemanius has proved that he was the sow of the emperor's leather.

^{*} Castlinera Anciorum gens cum Amali ctirpe spece adhur curpeaone general promittit, theremaks, c. 6th, p. 7033. He wrote at Eq. venue before the drain of Totila.

CHAP.

peror: the general contributed his private fortune; his two soms were popular and active; and he surpassed, in the promptitude and success of his levies, the expectation of mankind. He was permitted to select some squadrons of Thracian cavalry: the veterans, as well as the youth of Constantinople and Europe, engaged their veluntary service; and as far as the heart of Germany, his fame and liberality attracted the aid of the barbarians. The Romans advanced to Surdica; an army of Sclavonians fied before their murch; but within two days of their final departure, the designs of Germanus were terminated by his malady and death. Yet the impulse which he had given to the Italian war still continued to act with energy and effect. The maritime towns, Ancoua, Crotona, Centumcelles, resisted the assaults of Totila. Sicily was reduced by the zeal of Artahan, and the Gothic navy was defeated near the coast of the Hadriatic. The two fleets were almost equal, fortyseven to fifty galleys; the victory was decided by the knowledge and dexterity of the Greeks; but the ships were so closely grappled, that only twelve of the Goths excaped from this unfortunute conflict. They affected to depreciate an element in which they were unskilled, but their own experience confirmed the truth of a maxim, that the master of the sea will always acquire the dominion of the land."

[&]quot; The third book of Processus is terminated by the donth of Orremanns, (Add. J. Iv. et 25, 74, 25, 26).

After the less of Germanus, the nations were CHAP. provoked to smile, by the strange intelligence, XLIII. that the command of the Roman armies was correct given to an ennuch. But the cunuch Narses' is and expension of ranked among the few who have rescued that un-the rehappy name from the contempt and hatred of mankind. A feeble diminutive body concealed the A.D. 457. soul of a stateman and a warrior. His youth had been employed in the management of the loom and distaff, in the cares of the bousehold, and the service of female luxury; but while his bands were busy, he secretly exercised the faculties of a vigorous and discerning mind. A strunger to the schools and the camp, he studied in the palace to dissemble, to flatter, and to persuade; and as soon as he approached the person of the emperor, Justinian listened with surprise and pleasure to the manly counsels of his chamberlain and private treasurer." The talents of Nurses were tried and improved in frequent embassies: he led an army into Italy, acquired a practical knowledge of the war and the country, and presumed to strive

Processing relates the whole series of this second the bis way and the survey of Narues, (Live v. 21, 18-15). A splendid screen Account the eta subjects of spic poersy which Tump retained in his mind, he destinated between the composite of duty by Belliantin and by Narser. (Hayley's Works, and iv. p. 70).

⁴ The country of Names is unknown, since he must not be mufounded with the Persatmenton Proposition of the life (Gottle 1 lies n. 13; Sandieur generus exem; Pint Warmfrid I. i. c. 3, p. 724. Charmington Marcellines when the sales of Culturalities. In an ill-Stription on the Saletian bridge in in settebel Ex-control, Ex-control. situs, Cubicali Patricius, i Marcia, Hist. of the Germant, L Mil, a Mily Ther tree of Translations regional editorial was equallyte or shotled. of, (Ametrica axi) but the Bolish prophery of the Reviews and ented in call vogents (Protop 5 to 1-21).

CHAP KLIII with the genius of Belisarius. Twelve years after his return, the cunuch was chosen to achieve the conquest which had been left imperfect by the first of the Roman generals. Instead of being dazzled by vanity or emulation, he seriously declared, that unless he were armed with an adequate force, he would never consent to risk his own glory, and that of his sovereign. Justinian granted to the favourite, what he might have denied to the hero: the Gothic war was rekinds led from its ashes, and the preparations were not anworthy of the ancient majesty of the empire-The key of the public treasure was put into his hand, to collect magazines, to levy soldiers, to purchase arms and horses, to discharge the arrears of pay, and to tempt the fidelity of the fugitives and deserters. The troops of Germanus were still in arms; they halted at Salona in the expectation of a new leader; and legions of subjects and allies were created by the well-known liberality of the eunuch Narses. The king of the Lombards' satisfied or surpassed the obligations of a treaty, by lending two thousand two hundred of his bravest warriors, who were followed by three thousand of their martial attendants. Three thousand Heruli fought on horseback under Philemuth, their native chief: and the noble Aratus, who adopted the manners and discipline of Rome, conducted a hand of

A Paul Warnefrid, the Leanhard, creards with complemency the sociour, service, and honourable dismission of his countrymentally publics Receives adversor semples adjutures forward, it is, to It F-174, add. Great, I am surprised that Alberta, their married hingald not lead his subjects in percen-

veterans of the same nation. Dagathers was CHAP. released from prison to command the limit; and XLIII. Kobad, the grandson and nephless of the great king, was conspicuous by the regal tharn at the head of his faithful Persians, who had devoted themselves to the fortunes of their prince! Allsolute in the exercise of his authority, more absolute in the affection of his troops, Narses led a numerous and gallant army from Philippolis to Salong, from whence he coasted the eastern side of the Hadrintic as far as the confines of Italy, His progress was checked. The East could not supply yessels capable of transporting such multitudes of men and horses. The Franks, who, in the general confusion, had usurped the greater part of the Venetian province, refused a free passage to the friends of the Lombards. The station of Verona was occupied by Teins, with the flower of the Gothic forces; and that skilful commander had overspread the adjacent country with the fall of woods and the immedation of waters.4 In this perplexity, an officer of experience proposed a measure, secure by the appearance of rashness; that the Roman army should cautiously advance along the senshore, while the fleet preceded their

¹ He was, if not an impossor, the non of the blind Zames, caved by compaction, and advantal to the Bysinting soline by the various molives of policy, policy, and generosity. (Process, Person L.), c. 23).

⁸ In the same of Augmatics, and in the smiddle ages, the whole waits from Aquileta to Revenue was convered with woods, inter, and meresses. Man has subdued nature, and the hand has been cultivated, since the waters are confined and endanded. See the learned was teaches of Murgateri, (Autquitat: Italiae modil: Swi, turn. 1, tileserant, p. 223, 254), from Vitturius, Strabe, Heradian, eld charters, and local knowledge.

XLIII.

cuar, march, and successively cast a bridge of boats over the mouths of the rivers, the Timavus, the Bronta, the Adige, and the Po, that full into the Hadriatic to the north of Ravenna. Nine days he reposed in the city, collected the fragments of the Italian army, and murched towards Rimini to meet the defiance of an insulting enemy.

Defleat and death of Totile. A. D. 552. Bully.

The prudence of Narses impelled him to speedy and decisive action. His powers were the last effort of the state; the cost of each day accumulated the enormous account; and the nations, untrained to discipline or fatigue, might be rashly provoked to turn their arms against each other, or against their benefactor. The same considerations might have tempered the ardour of Totila. But he was conscious, that the clergy and people of Italy aspired to a second revo-Intion : he felt or suspected the rapid progress of treason, and he resolved to risk the Gotliic kingdom on the chance of a day, in which the valiant would be animated by instant danger, and the disaffected might be awed by mutual ignorance. In his march from Ravenna, the Roman general clustised the garrison of Rimini, traversed in a direct line the hills of Urbino, and re-entered the Flaminian way, nine miles beyand the perforated rock, an obstacle of art and nature which might have stopped or retarded his progress. The Goths were assembled in the neigh-

The Plannisher way, as it is corrected from the itinement, and the Dest modern maps, by d'Apville, (Amily e de l'Indite p. 147-167). may be they stated ... Been to Narni, M Stammitmillers Term, 57; Sp-

bourhood of Rome, they advanced, without delay, CHAP. to seek a superior enemy, and the two armies approached each other at the distance of one hundred furlongs, between Tagina" and the sepulchres of the Gaula." The langlity message of Narses was an offer, not of peace, but of pardon. The answer of the Gothic king declared his resolution to die or conquer. " What day," said the messenger, " will you fix for the combat?" " The " eighth day," replied Totila: but early the next morning he attempted to surprise a foe, suspicious of deceit, and prepared for battle. Ten thousand Heruli and Lombards, of approved valour and doubtful faith, were placed in the centre. Each of the wings was composed of eight thousand Remans; the right was guarded by the cavalry of the Hans, the left was covered by fifteen hundred chosen barse, destined, according to the emergencies of action, to sustain the retreat of their friends,

16to, 75; Feligim, 88; Nocera, 103; Copil, 142; Interest, 157; Fresondrome, 160; Pane, 176; Penns, 184; Riccio, 208-about 180 English miles. He takes in coster of the death of Totila | But Westelling (Itinerer, p. 613; errinauges for the firth of Topiene the maximum application of Propers, white miles from Noores.

" Taginm, or rather Tadime, is incidenced by Pliny & but the beshoppin of that observe town, a min from binable, in the plant, was emited, in the year 1007, with that of Norms. The signs of antiquity are preserved in the local appellations, Female, the compy Capella, Caputa; Really, Brists Oallicon. See Cluverius, divina Aminjut, is ill. c. 0, p. 615, 616, 617); Lucca Haistenina (Annotat ad Cinverp. St., Sur Guarana, Charrier, p. 177-217, a professor impriry), and the maps of the embedded state and the murch of Assense by La Maley and Magini-

" The battle was longht in the year of Berne \$30; and the countly Declar, by denoting his own life, anneal the trimoph of his country and his colleague Fahine, (T. Lin. x, 12, 19). Prospers swelles to Camillus the xictory of the Busta Gollisum; and his sever is branded by Cheverine with the national represent of Geneous magninents.

XLIII.

CHAP, or to encompass the flank of the enemy. From his proper station at the head of the right wing, the cumuch rode along the line, expressing by hisvoice and countenance the assurance of victory; exciting the soldiers of the emperor to punish the guilt and madness of a hand of robbers; and exposing to their view, gold-chains, collars, and bracelets, the rewards of military virtue. From the event of a single combat, they drew an omen of success; and they beheld with pleasure the courage of fifty archers, who maintained a small eminence against three sucressive attacks of the Gothic cavalry. At the distance only of two how-shots, the armies spent the morning in dreadful suspense, and the Romans tasted some necessary food, without unloosening the cuirass from their breast, or the bridle from their horses. Names awaited the charge; and it was delayed by Totila till be had received his last succeurs of two thousand Goths. While he consumed the hours in fruitless trenty, the king exhibited in a narrow space the strength and agility of a warrior. His armour was enchased with gold; his purple banner floated with the wind; he cast his lance into the air; caught it with the right hand; shifted it to the left; threw himself backwards; recovered his sent; and managed a fiery steed in all the pares and evolutions of the equestrian school. As soon as the succours had arrived; he retired to his tent, assumed the dress and arms of a private soldier, and gave the signal of lintile. The first line of cavalry advanced with more conrage than discretion, and left behind them the infantry of the second line. They were soon en-

gaged between the borns of a crescent, into which char. the adverse wings had been insensibly curved, XLIII. and were saluted from either side by the volleys of four thousand archers. Their ardour, and even their distress, drove them forwards to a close and unequal conflict, in which they could only use their funces against an enemy equally skilled in all the instruments of war. A generous emu-Intion inspired the Romans and their barbarian allies: and Narses, who calmly viewed and directed their efforts, doubted to whom he should adjudge the prize of superior bravery. The Gothic cavalry was autonished and disordered, pressed and broken; and the line of infantry, instead of presenting their spears, or opening their intervals, were trampled under the feet of the flying horse. Six thousand of the Goths were slaughtered, without mercy, in the field of Tagim. Their prince, with five attendants, was overtaken by Ashad, of the race of the Gepidie. " Soure the king of Italy," cried a loyal voice, and Ashad struck his lance through the body of Totils. The blow was Instantly revenged by the faithful Goths; they transported their dying monarch seven miles beyond the scene of his disgrace; and his last moments were not embittered by the presence of an enemy. Compassion afforded him the shelter of an obscure tomb; but the Romans were not satisfied of their victory, till they beheld the corpse of the Gothic king. His hat, enriched with geins, and his bloody robe, were presented to Justinian by the messengers of triumph?

^{*}Thoughtones, Chron. p. 193. Hist Mingell 1 mi, p. 108. P C 12

CHAP.

Company of Kome by Narran

As soon as Narses had paid his devotions to the Author of victory, and the blessed Virgin, his peculiar patroness, he praised, rewarded, and dismissed the Lombards. The villages had been reduced to ashes by these valiant savages; they ravished matrons and virgins on the altar; their retreat was diligently watched by a strong detachment of regular forces, who prevented a repetition of the like disorders. The victorious cunuch pursued his march through Tuscany, accepted the submission of the Goths, heard the acclamations, and often the complaints, of the Italians, and encompassed the walls of Rome with the remainder of his for-Round the wide circumference, midable host. Narses assigned to himself, and to each of his lieutenants, a real or a feigned attack, while he silently marked the place of easy and unguarded entrance. Neither the fortifications of Hadrian's mole, nor of the port, could long delay the progress of the conqueror; and Justinian once more received the keys of Rome, which, under his reign, had been five times taken and recovered." But the deliverance of Rome was the last calamity of the Roman people. The barbarian allies of Narses too frequently confounded the privileges of peace and war: the despair of the flying Goths found some

^{*} Evapoint, I 19, c. 94. The temperatum of the Viegin revealed to Names the day, and the word, of fattle, (Paul Discon. I il. e. 3, n. 376;

^{*} Err ever forchancer or expression. In the year 530 by Bellmeters, in 346 by Tenta, in 547 by Bellistense, in 540 by Totila, and in 552 by Norwer. Multrette had jundertently translated express a member which position and returned but the minister was deterand Coulds, with a reals of French and Latin seaters, have fallow acts the more.

consolation in sanguinary revenge; and three CHAP. hundred youths of the noblest families, who had XLIII. been sent as hostages beyond the Po, were inhumanly slain by the successor of Totila. The fate of the senate suggests an awful lesson of the vicissitude of human affairs. Of the senators whom Totila had banished from their country, some were rescued by an officer of Belisarius, and transported from Campunia to Sicily; while others were too guilty to confide in the clemency of Justinian, or too poor to provide horses for their escape to the sea-share. Their brethren languished five years in a state of indigence and exile: the victory of Narses revived their hopes: but their premature return to the metropolis was prevented by the furious Goths; and all the fortresses of Campania were stained with patrician* blood. After a period of thirteen centuries, the institution of Romulus expired; and if the nobles of Rome still assumed the title of senutors, few subsequent traces can be discovered of a public council, or constitutional order. Ascend six

The Gothic war was yet alive. The bravest of Defeat and the nation retired beyond the Po; and Teins was Tenn, the amanimously chosen to succeed and revenge their the Gosta.

hundred years; and contemplate the kings of the earth soliciting an audience, as the slaves or

freedmen of the Roman senate!"

^{*} Compare was passages of Procaples, theil, 6, 364 here, 6, 36), which, with some collineral hours from Marcellines and Jornardes, lithitests the state of the expering smale.

⁵ Sec. in the example of Prairies, as it is delivered in the fragments of Polytems, (Excerpt. Logar, artifit p. 927, 928), a curious picture of a regal slave.

MADE. Murch.

CHAP. departed hero. The new king immediately sent ambassaders to implore, or rather to purchase, A. D. SET. the aid of the Franks, and nobly lavished for the public safety, the riches which had been deposited in the palace of Pavia. The residue of the royal treasure was guarded by his brother Aligern at Campe in Campania; but the strong castle which Totild had fortified, was closely besieged by the arms of Narses. From the Alps to the foot of mount Vesuvius, the Gothic king, by rapid and secret marches, advanced to the relief of his brother, cluded the vigilance of the Roman chiefs, and pitched his camp on the banks of the Sarmus or Draco,' which flows from Nuceria into the buy of Naples. The river separated the two armies: sixty days were consumed in distant and fruitless combats, and Teins maintained this important post, till he was deserted by his fleet and the hope of subsistence. With reluctant steps he ascended the Lactorian mount. where the physicians of Rome, since the time of Galen, had sent their patients for the benefit of the air and the milk." But the Goths soon embraced a more generous resolution: to descend the bill,

^{*}The Agent of Property (Soth, I. Iv. & S5) is evidently the firemin. The text is occurred or ellered by the rath variations of Clarerine. G. iv. v. J. p. 11 May and Camillo Pellegrini of Nandes (Desired lopes la Campania Feties, p. (330, (331) has proved from old records, that as early as the year 822 that river was called the Drucostie, or Dramazeilla.

[&]quot; Golen ide Method, Mednutt, Lo, apad Cluver, Liv, c. 3, p. 1155, \$150) describes the luxy site, pure sit, and rich mile of mount Lacturner, whose medicinal benefits were equally known and rought in the time of Symmochus, (l. vi. spire, 18), and Cambelonius, (Var. M. by Nothing is now left except the same of the town of Letters.

to dismiss their horses, and to die in arms, and CHAP. in the possession of freedom. . The king marched XLUL at their head, bearing in his right hand a lance, and an ample buckler in his left; with the one he struck dead the foremost of the assailants; with the other he received the weapons which every hand was ambitious to aim against his life. After a combat of many hours, his left arm was farigued by the weight of twelve javelins which hung from his shield. Without moving from his ground, or enspending his blows, the hero called aloud on his attendants for a fresh buckler, but in the moment, while his side was uncovered, it was pierced by a mortal dart. He fell; and his head exalted on a spear, proclaimed to the nations, that the Gothic kingdom was no more. But the example of his death served only to animate the companions who had sworn to perish with their leader. They fought till darkness descended on the earth. They reposed on their arms. The combat was renewed with the return of light, and maintained with unabated vigour till the evening of the second day. The repose of a second night, the want of water, and the loss of their bravest champions, determined the surviving Goths to accept the fair capitulation which the prudence of Narses was inclined to propose. They embraced the alternative of residing in Italy as the subjects and soldiers of Justinian, or departing with a portion of their private wealth, in search of some independent country.5 Yet the

[&]quot; Hims from si, p. ?, &c.) impreje to his favourite Bayerta this remmust of Goths, who by others are horsed in the mountains of Ura, or metered to their native life of Gothland, (Mosco, Americant).

CHAP- outh of fidelity or exile was alike rejected be XLIII. one thousand Goths, who broke away before the treaty was signed, and holdly effected their retreat to the walls of Pavia. The spirit, as well as the situation, of Aligera, prompted him to imitate rather than to bewail his brother; a strong and dexterous archer, he transpicreed with a single arrow the armour and breast of his antagonist: and his military conduct defended Cumaes above. a year against the forces of the Romans. Their. industry had scooped the Sibyll's caver into a prodigious mine; combustible materials were introduced to consume the temporary props: the wall and the gate of Cuma sunk into the cavern, but the ruins formed a deep and inaccessible precipice. On the fragment of a rock, Aligern stood alone and unshaken, till he calmly surveyed the hopeless condition of his country. and judged it more honourable to be the friend of Narses than the slave of the Franks. After the death of Teias, the Roman general separated his troops to reduce the cities of Italy; Lucca sustained a long and vigorous siege; and such was the littmanity or the prudeuce of Narses, that the repeated

^{1.1} lmve Scaliger, (Automotivers, in Eurob. p. 69), and Salutains, (Exercitate Plinian, p. 53, 57), to quarrel about the origin of Camerthe oblest of the Greek calcules in Italy, thirsts, I.v., p. 1879; Volletini Puterculius, L.I., c. 4), already varient in Jureaut's time, (Saure like and sow in rains.

[&]quot; Agathlia (f. l. c. 21) settles the Smyll's care under the walls of County ; he agrees with Services; (ad. 5 vi. Minnish) ; nor can I persent why their opinion should be rejected by Heyer, the excellent efficient Virgit, (tom ii, p. 610, 651). In tothe medil scents religied the Comme was not yet built; and the firms it, or, bot, 973 would become vidiculous, if Alneas were actually in a Greek rity.

perfidy of the inhabitants could not provoke him CHAP. to exact the forfeit lives of their hostages: These XLIII. hostages were dismissed in safety; and their grateful zeal at length subdued the obstinacy of their countrymen.

Before Lucen had surrendered, Italy was over-layed in whelmed by a new deluge of barbarians. A fee- or France ble youth, the grandson of Clovis, reigned over manufactured the Austrastans or oriental Franks. The guard- A. D. S.D. ians of Theodebald entertained with coldness and reluctance the magnificent promises of the Gothic ambassadors. But the spirit of a martial people outstripped the timid counsels of the court : two brothers, Lothaire and Buccelin, the dukes of the Alemanni, stood forth as the leaders of the Italian war; and seventy-five thousand Germans descended in the autumn from the Rheetian Alps into the plain of Milan. The vanguard of the Roman army was stationed near the Po, under the conduct of Fulcaris, a bold Herulian, who rashly conceived, that personal bravery was the sole duty and merit of a commander. As he marched without order or precaution alongthe Emilian way, an ambuscade of Franks anddenly arose from the amphitheatre of Parma: his troops were surprised and routed; but their leader refused to fly, declaring to the last moment that

^{*} There is some difficulty in suspecting the 35th chapter of the 14th hand of the Gather was of Procession with the first book of the litatory; of Agathine We just now estimation a statement and soldier, to attend the formups of a post and shows trian, O. i. p. 11 c. ii. p. 81, with Lougnous

Among the fabulous explores of Burnetig, he discomined and dree Bellisters, sublined Staly and Sicily, &c. See, in the Historians of France, Gragory of Tours, (tom. ii., l. iii., c. 37, p. 375), and A. 3000. (tomam, 1.7), de Clean Francesco, c. 23, p. 50).

CHAP.

death was less terrible than the angry countenance of Narses. The death of Fulcaris, and the retreat of the sucviving chiefs, decided the fluctuating and rebellious temper of the Goths; they flew to the standard of their deliverers, and admitted them into the cities which still resisted the arms of the Roman general. The conqueror of Italy opened a free passage to the irresistible torrent of barbarians. They passed under the walls of Cesena, and answered by threats and reproaches the advice of Aligern, that the Gothic treasures could no longer repay the labour of an invasion. Two thousand Franks were destroyed by the skill and valour of Narses himself, who sallied from Rimini at the head of three hundred horse, to chastise the licentious rapine of their march. On the confines of Samnium, the two brothers divided their forces. With the right wing, Buccelin assumed the spoil of Campania. Lucania, and Bruttium: with the left, Lothaire accepted the plunder of Apulia and Calabris. They followed the coast of the Mediterranean and the Hadriatic, as far as Rhegium and Otranto, and the extreme lands of Italy were the term of their destructive progress. The Franks, who were Christians and catholics, contented themselves with simple pillage and occasional murder. But the churches which their piety had spared, were stripped by the sacrilegious hands of the Alemanni, who sacrificed borses heads to their native deities of the woods and rivers;" they melted

Againsts notices their superstition in a philosophy sone, (i. t. p. 18). At Zog, in Switzerland, ideletry still prevailed in the year (IIS).

or profaned the consecrated vessels, and the ruins CHAP. of shrines and alters were stained with the blood XLIII. of the faithful. Buccelin was actuated by ambition, and Lothaire by avarice. The former aspired to restore the Gothic kingdom: the latter, after a promise to his brother of speedy succours, returned by the same road to deposit his treasure beyond the Alps. The strength of their armies was already wasted by the change of climate and contagion of disease; the Germans revelled in the vintage of Italy; and their own intemperance avenged, in some degree, the miseries of a defenceless people. At the entrance of the spring, the imperial Defeat of the Franks

troops, who had guarded the cities, assembled as Aleto the number of eighteen thousand men, in the Marons neighbourhood of Rome. Their winter hours A. D. 554 had not been consumed in idleness. By the command, and after the example, of Narses, they repeated each day their military exercise on foot and on horseback, accustomed their ear to obey the sound of the trumpet, and practised the steps and evolutions of the Pyrrhic dance. From the straits of Sicily, Buccelin, with thirty thousand Franks and Alemanni, slowly moved towards Capua, occupied with a wooden tower the bridge of Casilinum, covered his right by the stream of the Vulturnus, and secured the the rest of his encampment, by a rampart of sharp stakes, and a circle of waggons, whose wheels were buried in the earth. He impatiently

St. Columbus and St. Gall were the spostles of that rule country 4 and the latter founded in hermitage, which has swelled into an occlosisatioall principally and a perpalous city, the seat of freedom and econnetive. CHAP.

expected the return of Lothnire; ignorant, alas! that his brother could never return, and that the chief and his army had been swept away by a strange disease on the banks of the lake Benacus, between Trent and Verona. The banners of Narses soon approached the Vulturnus, and the eyes of Italy were anxiously fixed on the event of this final contest. Perhaps the talents of the Roman general were most conspicuous in the calm operations which precede the turnult of a battle. His skilful reovements intercepted the subsistence of the burbarian, deprived him of the advantage of the bridge and river, and in the choice of the ground and moment of action, reduced him to comply with the inclination of his enemy. On the morning of the important day, when the ranks were already formed, a servant, for some trivial fault, was killed by his muster, one of the leaders of the Heruli. The justice or passion of Narses was awakened; he summoned the offender to his presence, and, without listening to his excuses, gave the signal to the minister of death. If the cruel master had not infringed the laws of his nation, this arbitrary execution was not less unjust, than it appears to have been imprudent The Heruli felt the indignity : they halted; but the Roman general, without soothing their rage, or expecting their msolution, called aloud, as the trumpets sounded, that unless they hastened to occupy their place, they would lose the honour of the victory.

[&]quot;See the doubt of Lorhales to Agerbias, th. ii. p. 385, and Paul Warnefrid, surnamed Discounts, (f. ii. c. 3, 773). The Greek applied him rave and how has from the had phopdered charries.

XLUI.

His troops were disposed in a long front, the CHAP. cavalry on the wings; in the centre, the heavyarmed foot; the archers and slingers in the rear. The Germans advanced in a sharp-pointed cohumn, of the form of a triangle or solid wedge. They pierced the feeble centre of Narses, who received them with a smile into the fatal smare, and directed his wings of cavalry insensibly to wheel on their flanks and encompass their rear-The host of the Franks and Alemanni consisted of infantry; a sword and buckler hung by their side, and they used, as their weapons of offener, a weighty batchet, and a hooked javelin, which were only formidable in close combat, or at a short distance. The flower of the Roman archers, on horseback, and in complete armour, skirmished without peril round this immovable phalanx; supplied by active speed the deficiency of number; and aimed their arrows against a crowd of barbarians, who, instead of a culrate and helmet, were covered by a loose garment of fur or linen. They passed, they trembled, their ranks were confounded, and in the decisive moment the Heruli, preferring glory to revenge, charged with rapid violence the head of the column. Their leader, Sindbal, and Aligera, the Gothic prince, deserved the prize of superior valour; and their example incited the victorious troops to achieve with swords and spears the

^{*} Pice Dimid (Rist, de la Milier Françoise, mini i, pi 17-71) haexhibited a familial expressional of this faith, somewhat in the summer of the Corralier Foliard, the man falsous editor of Polythus. who furthings to his own habits and sentences all the military approfinite of numberity.

CHAP TERR.

destruction of the enemy. Buccelin, and the greatest part of his army, perished on the field of battle, in the waters of the Vulturnus, or by the hands of the enruged pensants: but it may seem incredible that a victory, which no more than five of the Alemanni survived, could be purchased with the loss of fourscore Romans-Seven thousand Goths, the relicts of the war, defended the fortress of Campsa till the cusning spring; and every messenger of Narses annamed the reduction of the Italian cities, whose names were corrupted by the ignorance or vanity of the Greeks. After the battle of Casilla num, Nurses entered the capital; the arms and treasures of the Goths, the Franks, and Alemanni, were displayed; his soldiers, with garlands in their hands, chanted the praises of the conqueror; and Rome, for the last time, beheld the sensblance of a triumph.

Settlement of Pinly. 368.

After a reign of sixty years, the throne of the A D. 534- Gothic kings was filled by the exarchs of Ravenna, the representatives in peace and war af the emperor of the Romans. Their jurisdiction was soon reduced to the limits of a narrow province; but Narses himself, the first and most powerful of the exarchs, administered above fifteen years the entire kingdom of Italy. Like Belisarius, he had deserved the honours of envy-

The Servi and Brisens of Thompsons or his transmiter op. 164

must be read or understood Vermes and Brisis.

^{*} Agathias (k fl. p. \$7) has produced a Greek spigram of six lines on this victory of Narrow, which is favourably compared to the lightest of Marathon and Plates. The philef difference is indeed in their consequences—so trivial in the former laminos—e) permanent and glorious in the latter.

calumny, and disgrace: but the favourite eumoch Caarstill enjoyed the confidence of Justinian, or the XLIII. leader of a victorious army awed and repressed the ingratitude of a timid court. Yet it was not by weak and mischievous indulgence that Narses secured the attachment of his troops. Forgetful of the past, and regardless of the future, they abused the present hour of prosperity and peace. The cities of Italy resounded with the noise of drinking and dancing : the spoils of victory were wasted in sensual pleasures; and nothing (says Agathias) remained, unless to exchange their shields and belanets for the soft Inteand the capacious logshead." In a manly oration, not unworthy of a Roman censor, the cunuch reproved these disorderly vices, which suffied their fame and endangered their safety. The soldiers blushed and obeyed: discipling was confirmed, the fortifications were restored; a dake was stationed for the defence and military command of each of the principal cities; and the eye of Nuries pervaded the ample prospect from Calabria to the Alps: The remains of the Gothic mation evacuated the country, or mingled with the prople : the Franks, instead of revenging the death of Buccelin, abandoned, without a struggle, their

^{*} Elever que aport avera des afilieras em armite serve du va egang austignes inte and Emplies and define. (Agrathinto I. in p. 45). In the first eleme of History III, our Finalish good has beautifully enlarged on this idea, for which, however, for sees one independ to re-By anutifie historian.

^{*} Matha had percent, (Verenz Limitesta, P. s. L'u, p. 257, 280), agalact the common spicion, that the dukes of frally were margined suffers the suppose of the Lorestonia by Narwa Small. In the Programs Seniolise, (No. 20), Journal or restrains the justice entirents

CHAP. XLIN.

Italian conquests: and the rebellious Sindbal, chief of the Heruli, was subdued, taken, and hung on a lofty gallows by the inflexible justice of the exarch.2 The civil state of Italy, after the agitation of a long tempest, was fixed by a pragmatic smetlon, which the emperor promulgated at the request of the pope. Justinian introduced his own jurisprudence into the schools and tribunals of the West: he ratified the acts of Theodoric and his immediate successors, but every deed was rescinded and abolished, which forcehad extorted, or fear had subscribed, under the usurpation of Totila. A moderate theory was framed to reconcile the rights of property with the safety of prescription, the claims of the state with the poverty of the people, and the pardon of offences with the interest of sirtue and order of society. Under the exarchs of Ravenna, Rome was degraded to the second rank. Yet the senators were gratified by the permission of visiting their estates in Italy, and of approaching without obstacle the throne of Constantinople; the regulation of weights and measures was delegated to the pope and senate; and the sularies of lawyers and physicians, of orators and grammarians, were destined to preserve or rekindle the light of science in the ancient capital. Justinian might dietate benevolent edicts, and Narses might second his wishes

See Painleis Discounte, I. ille e. J. ps. 776. Manaulty die Extrep-Legate is 1927, manthous some crange in Thely by the Pranks, and The places (p. 201) bines at some Cathle robellions.

The Programs Soution of Junician, which resource and regitairs the a vit more of Iraly, combine of antil articles t il is dated Augart 15, A. D. 554; is addressed to Natset, V. J. Propositor Sont Caldingly

by the restoration of cities, and more especially CHAP. of churches. But the power of kings is most ef- XLIII. fectual to destroy; and the twenty years of the Gothic war had consummated the distress and depopulation of Italy. As early as the fourth campaign, under the discipline of Belisarius himself. fifty thousand labourers died of hunger" in the narrow region of Picenum;" and a strict interpretation of the evidence of Procopius would swell the loss of Italy above the total sum of her present inhabitants."

I desire to believe, but I dare not affirm, that because Belisurius sincerely rejoiced in the triumphot Nar- necesises. Yettheconsciousness of his own exploits might not the teach him to esteem without jeulousy the merit of a rival; and the repose of the aged warrior was crowned by a last victory which saved the emperor and the capital. The barbarians who annually visited the provinces of Europe were less discouraged by some accidental defeats, than they were ex-

Unfilledly, and to Airthornia, Productor Proposite India cand the here proserved by Julian Automotives, and in the Corpor Just Coulor after the powers and class of Juntaine, Justin, and Therana,

" A still greater number was emounted by homou to the contacto provinces, without foreign the Lotton wall. - Attends were said in the place of break. Properties had sent a describe explain suchled by a she-great. Sevention parameters were heliped, suredeenly and curenby two women, who were decested and thain by the electronth, Ac.

" Quinta jeghi Pievif sat'i symmlam oberrims multitudina, cects militia Piccettiam in mirito F. M. versore, (Pleas Harr, Natice in, 1804 In the store of Varpaints, this analysis population one abready some Milduil.

* Perhaps filters or sixtens millions. Promptes (America e. 18) computer that Africa lost use mullions, that Puly was three as extension, and that the depopulation was in a largest properties. But the recoming is inflamed by passion, and consider with necessarily.

D.sl

COL VII.

XLIII.

cited by the double hope of spoil and of subsidy. In the thirty-second winter of Justinian's reign, the Danube was deeply frozen: Zabergan led the cavalry of the Bulgarians, and his standard was followed by a promiscuous multitude of Sclavo-The savage chief passed, without opposition, the river and the mountains, spread his troops over Macedonia and Thrace, and advanced with no more than seven thousand horse to the long walls which should have defended the territory of Constantinople. But the works of man are impotent against the assaults of anture; a recent earthquake and shaken the foundations of the wall; and the forces of the empire were employed on the distant frontiers of Italy, Africa, and Persia. The seven achools," or companies of the guards or domestic troops, had been augmented to the number of five thousand five hundred men, whose ordinary station was in the peaceful cities of Asia. But the places of the braye Armenians were insensibly supplied by lazy citizens, who purchased an exemption from the duties of civil life, without being exposed to the dangers of military service. Of such soldiers, few could be tempted to sally from the gates; and none could be persuaded to remain in the field, unless they wanted strength and speed to escape from the Bulgarians. The report of the fugitives exaggerated the numbers and fierceness of an enemy, who had polluted holy virgins, and

^{*} In the decay of these stilling actuals, the untire of Procession (Amedial c. 24) Aleman p. 102, 103) is confirmed and illustrated by Agathian, it, v. p. 159), who cannot be rejected as an hortile witness.

abandoned new-horn infants to the dogs and vul- CHAP. tures; a crowd of rustics, imploring food and NLIII. protection, increased the consternation of the city, and the tents of Zabergan were pitched at the distance of twenty miles," on the banks of a small river, which entircles Melanthias, and afterwards falls into the Propontis. Justinian trembled; and those who had only seen the emperor in his old age, were pleased to suppose, that be had lost the alacrity and vigour of his youth: By his command, the vessels of gold and silver were removed from the churches in the neighbourhood, and even the suburbs, of Constuntinople; the comparts were lined with trembling speciators: the golden gate was crowded with useless generals and tribunes, and the senate shared the fatigues and the apprehensions of the populace.

But the eyes of the prince and people were di-Lut vicrected to a feeble veteran, who was compelled by Belliarius the public danger to resume the armour in which he had entered Carthage and defended Rome. The borses of the royal staldes, of private citizens, and even of the circus, were hustily collected;

[&]quot;The distance Brook Continuingle to Melanthim, Villa Constraint, Commisso, Margellin, max, 13% is barountly fixed or 102 in 140 mg. dis, (Saidle, tone is, p. 182, 923). Agathies, L.Y. p. 188), or axid or the miles, (Riscorda, p. 138, 230, 333, 337, and Wassiling's Charrythere). The first an entire, or far as Rhogame, were proved by Junelitary, who built a bridge over a territor or guillet fortween a lake and the son (Pencop, or Bellf, h. (v. c. *)-

^{*} The Atyrot, (Pemper, Main, L. S., c. 2, p. 169, edit. Vone). the spece's month, a linear or marks of the same names was formfiel by Junigian, (Prosent de Paris I. by c. 2. Riment p. 210, and Westalt

CHAP.

the emulation of the old and young was roused by the name of Belisarius, and his first encompment was in the presence of a victorious enemy. His prudence, and the labour of the friendly peasants, secured, with a ditch and rampart, the repose of the night: innumerable fires, and clouds of dust, were urtfully contrived to magnify the appaion of his strength; his soldiers suddenly passed from despendency to presumption; and while ten thousand voices demanded the battle, Belisaring dissembled his knowledge, that in the hour of trial he must depend on the firmness of three bundred veterans. The next morning the Bulgarian cavalry advanced to the charge. But they heard the shouts of multitudes, they beheld the arms and discipline of the front; they were assaulted on the flanks by two ambuscades which rose from the woods; their foremost warriors fell by the hand of the aged hero and his guards; and the swiftness of their evolutions was rendered useless by the close attack and rapid pursuit of the Romans. In this action (so spendy was their flight) the Bulgarians lost only four hundred horse; but Constantinople was saved; and Zabergan, who felt the hand of a master. withdrew to a respectful distance. But his friends were numerous in the council's of the emperor, and Belisarius obeyed with rejuctance, the commands of envy and Justinian, which forbade him to achieve the deliverance of his country. On his return to the city, the people, still conscious of their danger, accompanied his triumph with acclamations of joy and gratitude, which

were imputed as a crime to the victorious gene- CHAP rm. But when he entered the palace, the courtiers were silent, and the emperor, after a cold and thankless embrace, dismissed him to mingle with the train of slaves. Yet so deep was the impression of his glory on the minds of men, that Justinian, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, was encouraged to advance near forty unles from the capital, and to inspect in person the restorution of the long wall. The Bulgarians wasted the aummer in the plains of Thrace; but they were inclined to peace by the failure of their rash attempts on Greece and the Chersonesus. A menace of killing their prisoners quickened the payment of heavy ransoms; and the departore of Zabergan was hastened by the report, that double-prowed vessels were built on the Danube to intercept his passage. The danger was soon forgotten; and a vain question, whether their sovereign had shown more wisdom or weakness, amused the idleness of the city.1

About two years after the last victory of Bell. Its ansarius, the emperor returned from a Thracian desib, journey of health, or business, or devotion, Jus. A. D. set, tinian was afflicted by a pain in his head; and his jurivate entry countenanced the rumour of his death. Before the third hour of the day, the baker's shops were plundered of their bread, the houses were shut, and every citzen, with hope or terror, prepared for the impending tunnit. The

^{*} The Billperlin wer, and the last verbary of Belliamins, are improved by represented in the profits declaration of Agentus, in 5, 2-154-174), and the dry Chronicle of Thoughness, pp. 197, 1989.

NLIIL

senators themselves, fearful and suspicious, were convened at the minth hour; and the prefect received their commands to visit every quarter of the city, and proclaim a general illumination for the recovery of the emperor's health. 'The ferment subsided ; but every accident betrayed the impotence of the government and the factions temper of the people: the guards were disposed mutiny as often as their quarters were changed or their pay was withheld; the frequent calamities of fires and curthquakes afforded the opportunities of disorder; the disputes of the blues and greens, of the orthodox and heretics, degenerated into bloody battles; and in the presence of the Persian amhassador, Justinian blushed for himself and for his subjects. Capricious pardon and arbitrary punishment embittered the irksomeness and discontent of a long reign : a conspiracy was formed in the palace; and, unless we are deceived by the names of Murcellus and Sergius, the most virtuous and the most profligate of the courtiers were associated in the same designs. They had fixed the time of the execution; their rank gave them access to the royal banquet; and their black slaves' were stationed in the vestibule and porticos, to announce the death of the tyrant, and to excite a sedition in the capital. But the indiscretion of an accomplice saved the poor remnant of the days of Justinian. The conspir-

^{*} bles. They could sexteely be real lemmas; and the Arbitrains, americase known by that name, were mover used by the normals as guardeen fallowers; they were the triffing, though contry, objects of small and royal lemmy, (Terent, Emmah, act. 1, seems it; Saction in August, v. 83, with a good, pair of Casambon, in Calignia, v. 81).

ntors were detected and seized, with daggers CHAP. hidden under their garments; Marcellus died by XIIII. his own hand, and Sergius was dragged from the sanctuary." Pressed by remorse, or tempted by the hopes of safety, he accused two officers of the household of Belisarius; and torture forced them to declare that they had acted according to the secret instructions of their patron.8 Posterity will not hastily believe that an hero, who, in the vigour of life, had disdained the fairest offers of ambition and revenge. should stoop to the murder of his prince, whom he could not long expect to survive. His followers were impatient to fly ; but flight must have been supported by rebellion, and he had lived enough for nature and for glory. Belisarius ap- a. D. 503. peared before the council with less fear than in. Dec. 2. dignation : after forty year's service, the emperor had prejudged his guilt; and injustice was sanctifield by the presence and authority of the patriarch. The life of Belisarius was graciously spared; but his fortunes were sequestered, and from December to July, he was guarded as a prisoner in his own palace. At length his innocence was acknow- at it sos, ledged; his freedom and honours were restored; July 18. and death, which might be hastened by resentment and grief, removed him from the world about a. D. 585.

* Too Sergue (Vandati I, ii, s. 21, 22; Amedia, s. 35 and Murwithin (Goth Lift, & Bry are minutained by Preconna- See Therephases, p. 197, 191.

* Alementa (p. 3) quates at did Byzantine MS, which has been

printed in the Imperium Orientale of Bambur.

CHAP-

eight months after his deliverance. The name of Belisarius can never die: but instead of the funeral, the monuments, the staturs, so justly due to his memory, I only read, that his treasures, the spoils of the Goths and Vandals, were immediately confiscated by the emperor. Some decent portion was reserved, however, for the use of his widow; and as Antonina had much to repeat, she devoted the last remains of her life and fortune to the foundation of a convent. Such is the simple and genuine marrative of the fall of Belisarius and the ingratitude of Justinian. That he was deprived of his eyes, and reduced by envy to beg his bread, "Give a penny to Belisarius the general." is a fiction of later times, which has obtained

* Of the digrace and projection of Bulancies, the promise organirecord is proceed in the fragment of Julia Malain, term. II, p. 254-PAlp, and the axist Chemistic of Theophoton, tp. 181-7035. Commis. (Compand. p. 387, 388), and Zancesa, from it. 1, 209, p. 203siem to break between the obsolute to utilized the growing falls incom-

• The source of this life bable may be derived come miscellaneous work of the suth cruthery, the Califord of John Yorkers, a model of this 1944, at calcam Lymphrent, Colon. Allohoop, 1914, in Corp. Part. Graces. He related the biindress and degreey of Relations in the rulgar or follows verses, (Califord III, No. 88, 2094-188, in Corp. Part. Grace turn it, p. 311).

Course Siters afarer ides ve pilce Sikrenier elleter bere ve egentlann Ur vogn per id-Caire, averegta di piece

This moral or remarks take was impurised into Italy with the language and manuscripts of Greene; repeated before the end of the avel century by Crimines, Pontarion, and Volumerraning attacked by Airna, for the following of the law a and defended by Barrania (A. D. 461, N. 2. 46.) for the homour of the church. Yet Treasus himself had read in story chronicies, that Behrania and not less be foots, and that he proported has four and foreness.

credit, or rather favour, as a strange example of CHAR. the vicusitudes of fortune."

If the emperor could rejoice in the death of name and Belisarius, he enjoyed the base satisfaction only of Justieight months, the last period of a reign of thirtyeight, and a life of eighty-three, years. It would some be difficult to trace the character of a prince who is not the most conspicuous object of his own times: but the confessions of an enemy may be received as the safest evidence of libevirtues. The resemblance of Justinian to the bust of Domitian. is mallegonsly urged;" with the acknowledgment, however, of a well-proportioned figure, a ruddy complexion, and a pleasing countenance. The emperor wastnsy of access, patient of hearing. courteons and affishle in discourse, and a master of the angry passions, which rage with such destructive violence in the breast of adespot. Procopius praises his temper to reprouch him with calm and deliberate cruelty; but in the conspiracies which attacked his authority and person, a more candid judge will approve the justice or admire the clemency of Justinian. He excelled

[.] The cipture in the witte Benghair or House, in a sitting planter, with an open hand, which is subjectly given in Helberton, may be sacrified with more dignity to Augustus in the set of propiliating New carrie, (Winkstown, 1916 de l'Ara, term ill. p. 1950). Ex metaine eran eftern sityern, quotarnia, dis certe, embedicabat a populo, ravern manulus ames perriguntose prabere, Poster, in August, p. 11, with an exactions note of Canadamy.

^{*} The rates of themitian is attanuatived, quantity arough, by the pen of Tacinet, tin Vit. Agency is, 407; and him toom likes in moliced by the yearger Piley, (Panegrow 18; and Suctomini, (in Primitter, c. 18, and Carather of lexions: Pracopus (America, p. 8) Inclishing believer that note one best of Durmitan and rembed the vith corners.

curse, in the private virtues of chastity and temperance; but the impartial love of beauty would have been less mischievous, than his conjugal tenderness for Theodora's and his abstemious diet was regulated, not by the prudence of a philosopher, but the superstition of a monk. His repusts were short and frugul; on solemn fasts, he contented himself with water and vegetables; and such was his strength, as well as feryour, that he frequently passed two days and as many nights; without tasting any food. The measure of his sleep was not less rigorous; after the repose of a single hour, the body was awakened by the soul, and, to the astonishment of his chamberiains, Justinian walked or studied till the morning light. Such restless application prolonged his time for the acquisition of knowledge, and the despatch of business; and he might seriously deserve the reproach of confounding, by minute and preposterous diligence, the general order of his administration. The emperor professed himself a musician and architect, a poet and philosopher, a lawyer and theologian; and if he failed in the enterprise of reconciling the Christian sects, the review of the Roman jurisprudence is a noble monument of his spirit and industry. In the government of the empire, he was less wise or less successful: the age was unfortunate; the people

The studies and science of Justinum are attended by the sourcerion. (Ancrein, e. F., 13), and more than by the preises, eligible. I ill, s. 31 r de Edific 1 17 Process & T), of Processors. Consult the espions index of Abencount, and read the life of Justinian by Ludes rig. (g. 135-182).

was oppressed and discontented; Theodora abus- Guar. ed her power; a succession of had ministers diseraced his judgment; and Justinian was neither beloved in his life, nor regretted at his death. The love of finne was deeply implanted in his breast, but he condescended to the poor ambition of titles, honours, and contemporary praise; and while he inhoured to fix the admiration, he forfeited the esteem and affection of the Romans. The design of the African and Italian wars was boldly conceived and executed; and his penetration discovered the talents of Belianius in the camp, of Narces in the palace. But the name of the emperor is eclipsed by the names of his victorious generals; and Belisarus still lives, to upbraid the envy and ingratitude of his sovereign. The partial favour of mankind applauds the genius of a conqueror, who leads and directs his subjects in the exercise of arms. The characters of Philip II and of Justinian are distinguished by the cold ambition which delights in war, and declines the dangers of the field. Yet a colossal statue of bronze represented the emperor on horseback, preparing to march against the Persians in the habit and armour of Achilles. In the great square before the church of St. Sophia, this monument was raised on a brass column and a stone pedestal of seven steps; and the pillar of Theodosins, which weighed seven thousand four hundred pounds of ailver, was removed from the same place by the avarice and vanity of Justinian. Future princes were more just or indulgent to his memory; the elder Andro-

RLIII. *******

CHAP. nicus, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, repaired and beautified his equestrian statue: since the fall of the empire, it has been melted into cannon by the victorious Turks.

> I shall conclude this chapter with the comets, the carthquakes, and the plague, which astenished or afflicted the age of Justinian.

Counses. ALTE BALL

L. In the fifth year of his reign, and in the month of Sentember: a comet was seen during twenty days in the western quarter of the heavens, and which shot its rays into the North. Eight years afterwards, while the sun was in Capricorn, another comet appeared to follow in: the Sagitary: the size was gradually increasing: the head was in the East, the tall in the West, and it remained visible about forty days. nations, who gazed with astonishment, expected wars and calamities from their baleful influence; and these expectations were abundantly fulfilled. The astronomers dissembled their ignorance of the nature of these bluzing stors, which they affected to represent as the floating meteors of the air; and few among them, embraced the simple notion of Seneca and the Chaldmans, that they are only planets of a longer period and more ec-

^{*} See in the C. P. Christians of Durange, O. L. z. 24, No. 15, a chain of original testimodist, from Pr. copius in the with, in Gyllins in the swith, contury,

^{*} The first comet is muntioned by John Matalay (come it; p. 160, 210), and Theophanes, (p. 154); the second by Proceeding (Persic, I lie e. 4). Yet I strongly suspect their identity. The pulmost of the min (Vanishi). If, c. 14) is applied by Theophanes up. 158(to a different year.

centric nution. Time and science have justic cutar. fied the conjectures and predictions of the Ro- XIAIL man sage: the telescope has opened new worlds to the eyes of astronomers;" and, in the narrow space of history and fable, one and the same comet is already found to have revisited the earth in seven equal revolutions of five laundred and seventy-five years. The forst,' which ascends beyond the Christian era one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven years, is conval with Ogyges the father of Greeian antiquity. And this appearance explains the tradition which Varro has preserved, that under his reign the planet Venus changed her colour, size, figure, and course; a prodigy without example either in past or succeeding ages.' The second visit, in the year eleven hundred and ninety-three, is darkly implied in the fuble of Electra the seventh of the Pleiads, who have been reduced to six since the time of the Trojan war. That ayough, the

^{//} Sometic ends hour in Special Continued the first in the October Sometic a philosophic point. Verbination were two problems of continued as repeated by the first a respectively.

A prominger may shorty Newster Led Helby, I have a public sensets; from the witten Courte, in the Transit tree; deputie by M. (Calendert).

[&]quot;Williams, the beauty, place, thought Whitems, had handled. On the era of Nouley flood, 1988 years to be Chiraly a price appearant of the vann super which derived the well modern and.

[&]quot;A theoretical of Freez (Memoure de l'Attainmin des Instruments of Fattainmin des Instruments of park of programments of the first of the programment of the first of Ogramment programments of the first of Ogramment of the Control of Control o

CHAP, XLIII wife of Dardanus, was unable to support the ruin of her country; she abandoned the dances of her sister orbs, fled from the zedine to the north pole, and obtained, from her dishevelled locks, the name of the conet. The third period expires in the year six hundred and eighteen, a date that exactly agrees with the tremendous comet of the Sibyll, and perhaps of Pliny, which arose in the West two generations before the reign of Cyrus. The fourth apparition, fortyfour years before the birth of Christ, is of all others the most splendid and important. After the death of Casar, a long-haired star was conspiceous to Rome and to the nations, during the games which were exhibited by young Octavisus in honour of Venus and his uncle. The vulgar opinion, that it conveyed to heaven the divine soul of the dictator, was cherished and conseerated by the picty of a statesman; while his secret superstition referred the comet to the glory of his own timese. The fifth visit has been already ascribed to the fifth year of Justining, which coincides with the five hundred and thirty-first of the Christian era. And it may deserve notice, that in this, as in the preceding instance, the council was followed, though at a longer interval, by a remarkable paleness of the sun. The sixth return, in the year eleven hundred and six, is recorded by the chronicles

^{*} Piley Olina. Name of 2th how transcribed the intiginal manments of Anguerra. Makes, in the street legislative Letters to the P. Parcents adiabases; in China, removes the games and the comet of Septemblishing in China, removes the games and the comet of Septemblishing the year 44 better the Christian are a heal for, then the year 44 better year 45, better the Christian are a heal or has totally substitute of the letter water, (Operating a 273-231).

of Europe and China; and in the first fervour of CHAP. the Crusades, the Christians and the Mahamet. XLIII. ans might surmise, with equal reason, that it portended the destruction of the infidels. The seventh phenomenon of one thousand six hundred and eighty was presented to the eves of un enlightened age. The philosophy of Bayle dispelled a prejudice which Milton's muse had so recently adorned, that the comet, " from its bor-" rid hair, shukes postilence and war." Its roud in the beavens was observed with exquisite skill by Planatend and Cassini; and the mathematical science of Bernoulli, Newton, and Halley, investigated the laws of its revolutions. At the cighth period, in the year two thousand two hundred and lifty-live, their calculations may perhaps be verified by the astronomers of some future capital in the Siberian or American wildorness.

II. The near approach of it comet may being them. or destroy the globe which we inhabit a but the changes on its surface laye been hitherto produced by the action of volcanos and earthquakes.

This last remut was shall in the growth of Bossellow the. Baying who began his Prosect and in Comes iii Junuary bush, (Done with the sign was found to argue that a representation comes would? busy consequed the anchore in their blighory. Berminitt over his Plogs, in Footsmills, turn, v. p. 295 was formed to often that the train though out the bend, was a way of the written God.

" Partitive Love year published in the year 1061; and the furnished time (i.e., Ton, Acq, which combit the bearing may that to the recent games or 1868, about of by I possed at Bosse In the presence of Queen Christine. (Fontanelle, or his Playe, how we pullbay that

Charles II beingof any symptoms of contacts so more?

* For the rates of earthquakes, - Buffler, from the policy-line Supplement a Pillion, Namiolog, from A. p. 283-200, califfer to boat Valuunt de Borrare, (Dictionale d'Histoire Naturelle, Freadiment Terry, Phring Walkers, (Chamilat Rasser, tomali in 1+1-200).

CHAP. Still.

The nature of the soil may indicate the comptries most exposed to these formidable concussions, since they are caused by subterraneous fires, and such ares are kindled by the union and fermentation of iron and sulphur. But their times and effects appear to he beyond the reach of human curiesity, and the philosopher will discreetly abstain from the prediction of earthquakes, till he has counted the drops of water that silently filtrate on the inflammable mineral, and measured the caverus which increase by resistance the explosion of the imprisoned air. Without assigning the reause, history will distinguish the periods in which these columntous events have been rure or frequent, and will abserve that this fever of the earth raged with uncommon violence during the reign of Justinian." Rach year is marked by the repetition of earthquakes, of such duration, that Constantinople has been shaken above forty-days; of such extent, that the shock has been communicated to the whole surface of the giobe, or at least of the Roman empire. An impulsive or vibratory motion was felt: enermous chasms were opened, huge and heavy, hodles were discharged into the air, the sea alternately advanced and retreated beyond its ordinary bounds, and a mountain was torn from Libanus?

^{*} The methiouskes that chief the Bernar wired to the reign of description, we described or regulation by Production, Cath. L. W. S. 25 | Amoder & 186 ; Agrinton | L. H. p. 32, 33, 54; L. r. p. 143-1529; John Malilla, (Chron. form H. p. 149-140, 176, 177, 183, 193, 220, 229, 231, 233, 2341, and The pleases, 49 151, 183, 189, 161-200L

^{*} An abrupt bright, a perpendicular cape between Arabia and Berrye, named by the Great sides upon the and returned at his species.

CHAT 33,111

and east into the waves, where it protected, as a mole, the new harbour of Botrest in Phoenicia. The stroke that agitates an aut-hill, may crush the insect my riads in the dust; yet truth must extort a confession, that man has industriously laboured for his own destruction. The institation of great cities, which include a nation within the limits of a wall, almost realizes the wish of Caligula, that the Roman people had but one neck. Two hundred and fifty thousand A. D. 526, persons are said to have perished in the carthquake of Antioch, whose dangestic multitudes were swelled by the conflux of strangers to the festival of the Ascension The less of Berytus A was of smaller account, but of much greater value. That city, on the coast of Phonicia, was illustrated by the study of the civil law, which opened the surest road to wealth and dignity: the schools of Berytus were filled with the rising spirits of the age, and many a youth was lost in the earthquake. who might have fived to be the scourge or the guardian of his country. In these disasters, the architect becomes the enemy of mankind. The but of a savage, or the tent of an Arab, may be

by the compalities Christian, (Polyt. L. v. p. 411. P. organ Mich.). I, a. 12, p. 47, com Imar Voss, Observat, Manufacill, Justice, p. --23. Poesek's Description, and the power.

[&]quot; Henry's was discussed from over Chicles, 202-900; by Internal, bing of Tyres (Mardians, Come Chiene p. 187, 1889). He para representation, the enlage or Patrone, is now destinate of an inches-

[·] The enteredry, optendent, and runs of Berynne, are relativested by Hemorems, op. 231-350, many special part of the Manage of the Roman Law, It was courthrown to the axistic our of Justinian (A) D. 651, July 9, (Thoughnoon is 170); but Agentum it u. p. 51, 571 suspends the cartingante till be him achieved the Italian was

CHAP.

thrown down without injury to the inhabitant; and the Peruvinus had reason to decide the fully of their Spanish conquerors, who with so much cost and labour crected their own sepulchres. The rich marbles of a patrician are dashed on his own head; a whole people is buried under the rains of public and private edifices, and the conflagration is kindled and propagated by the innumerable fires which are necessary for the sulsistence and manufactures of a great city. Instend of the mutual sympathy which might comfort and assist the distressed, they dreadfully experience the vices and passions which are released from the fear of punishment; the tottering houses are pillaged by intrepid avarice; revenge embraces the moment, and selects the victim; and the earth often swallows the assassin, or the ravisher, in the consummation of their crimes. Superstition involves the present danger with invisible terrors; and if the image of death may sometimes be subservient to the virtue or repentance of individuals, as affrighted people is more forcibly mayed to expect the end of the world. or to deprecate with servile homage the wrath of an avenging Deity.

Plague— Its origin and nations A. D. 542.

III. Ethiopia and Egypt have been stigmatized in every age, as the original source and seminary of the plague. In a damp, hot, stagnating air, this African fever is generated from the putrefaction of animal substances, and especially from the swarms of locusts, not less destructive to mankind in their death than in their lives. The fatal

[&]quot;I have read with pleasure Mend's short, but alegant, treatise concerning Pertitential Disorders, the wiith edition, Landon, 1772.

Statt.

disease which depondeted the earth in the time THAP. of Justinian and his successors, first appeared in the neighbourhood of Pelusium, between the Serbonian bog and the eastern channel of the Nile. From thence, tracing as it were a double path, it spread to the East, over Syrm, Persia, and the Indies, and penetrated to the West. along the coast of Africa, and over the continent of Europe. In the spring of the second year, Constantinople, during three or four months, was visited by the pestilence; and Procopius, who observed its progress and symptoms with the eyes or a physician," has emulated the skill and diligence of Thucydides in the description of the plague of Athens." The infection was sometimes announced by the visions of a distempered fancy, and the victim despuired as soon as he had heard the menace and felt the stroke of an invisible spectre. But the greater number, in their heds, in the streets, in their usual occupation, were surprised by a slight fover; so slight, indeed, that

[&]quot; The great player which eaged in 512 and the following years, (Peg., Crittin, tom. II, p. 518), round be travel in Procupuse, (Persic. t st. c. or, With Agailton, th. v. p. 233, Listy, Exagerou, th. by a. Phys. Paul Discours, (L.B. & & p. 726, 777); Gregory of Tours, (tops. II. Liv. c 5, p 205; who miss it Less foremerle, and the Chronicles or Varie Tunnuncests, (p. 8, to Them or, Temperature); of Marcellanux, (p. 54), and of Theophanes, (p. 153).

^{*} Dr. France (Hist Medicia, in Opp. p. 416-420, Lond, 1733) is antisted that Proceeding must have studied physic, from her suppliedge and one of the technical words. Yet many words that are now salem-

the, were common and popular in the Greek islam-

^{*} See Thicystides, Lit, c. 47-35, p. 127-123, edit, Delier, and the postind description of the same plogue by Laurettine, it. vi. 1136-1286). I was indebted to Dr. Hunter for an eleberate commentary on this part of Thurydides, a quarte of 800 pages, (Venus, 100%, again Justice, which was promuzeed in St. Mark's library, by Patrice Paullinus Untremels, a physician and philosopher.

CHAP.

neither the pulse nor the colour of the patient gave any signs of the approaching danger. The same, the next, or the succeeding day, it was declared by the swelling of the glands, particularly those of the groin, of the arm-pits, and under the cur; and when these buboes or tumours were opened, they were found to contain a coal or black substance, of the size of a lentil. If they came to a just swelling and suppuration, the patient was saved by this kind and natural discharge of the morbid humour. But if they continued hard and dry, a mortification quickly ensued, and the fifth day was commonly the term of his life. The fever was often accompanied with lethargy or delivium; the hodies of the sick were covered with black postules or carbuncles, the symptoms of namediate death ; and in the constitutions too feeble to produce an eruption, the comiting of blood was followed by a mortification of the bowels. To pregnant women the plague was generally mortal; yet one infant was drawn alive from his dead mother, and three mothers survived the loss of their infected feetis. Youth was the most perilous season; and the female sex was less susceptible than the male; but every rank and profession was attacked with indiscriminate rage, and many of those who escaped were deprived of the use of their speech, without being secure from a return of the disorder. The physicians of Con-

ACCUTUAL.

^{*} Tempdises (c. 27) offices that the infection would only be once extent has Everyme, who had family-experience of the plague, abserver, that some persons, who had emigod the true, once under the

stantinople were zealous and skilful: but their cuar. art was haffled by the various symptoms and pertinacious vehemence of the disease: the same remedies were productive of contrary effects, and the event enpriciously disappointed their prognostics of death or recovery. The order of fisnerals, and the right of sepulchres, were confounded; these who were left without friends or servants, lay unburied in the streets, or in their desolate houses; and a magistrate was authorized to collect the promiscuous heaps of dead bodies, to transport them by land or water, and to inter them in deep pits beyond the precincts of the city. Their own danger, and the prospect of public distress, awakened some remorse in the minds of the most vicious of mankind; the confidence of health again revived their passions and habits; but philosophy must disdain the observation of Procopius, that the lives of such men were guarded by the peculiar favour of fortune or providence. He forgot, or perhaps he secretly recollected, that the plague had touched the person of Justinian himself; but the abstemious diet of the emperor may suggest, as in the case of Socrates, a more rational and honourable cause for his recovery." During his sickness, the public consternation was expressed in the liabits of the

second attacks and this repetition is synformal by Falous Paulieus, fp. Simp. I shreeve that on this hand physicians are divided; and the nature and operation of the disagre may not always be smeles.

^{*} It was that that Secrete had been saved by his temperature, in the player of Atliens, (Aul. Gellins, Nact. Atlic. ii, In. Dr. Mond. accounts for the peculiar animary of resignor bosons, by the two adcannages of sections; and stationner, ep. 18, 10;

CHAP. citizens; and their idleness and despondence occasioned a general scarcity in the capital of the Kust.

Extent and duration. 39 L

Contagion is the inseparable symptom of the s. o. say plague; which, by mutual respiration, is transfused from the infected persons to the lungs and stomach of those who approach them. While philosophers believe and tremble, it is singular, that the existence of a real danger should have been denied by a people most prone to vain and imaginary terrors." Yet the fellow-citizens of Procopius were satisfied, by some short and partial experience, that the infection could not be gained by the closest conversation;" and this persuasion might support the assiduity of friends or physicians in the care of the sick, whom inhuman prodence would have condemned to solitude and despair. But the fatal security, like the predestination of the Turks, must have aided the progress of the contagion; and those salutary precautions to which Europe is indebted for her safety, were unknown to the government of Justinian. No restraints were imposed on the free and frequent intercourse of the Ro-

^{*} Mond power that the players is contiguous, from Thursdides, Life crettur, Attatutie, Calm, and commun experience, (p. 10-20); and he refittes (Premos, p. it-xiii) the contrary opinion of the French physiciam who visited Marseller in the year 1770. Yet these were the recent and enlightened ejectators of a plague which, to a few mushis, every away 10,000 inhubitants two in Pests de Marcelle-Paris, 1786) of a city that, in the present hour of prespectly and train, contains to more than 90,000 male, (Newser, any les Funancies tom: 1. p. 231)

^{*} The strong courtisms of Procopilis -- ere yag serys see yag duryme overtheen by the colomposts experience of Evogrant.

man provinces; from Persia to France, the na- exac. tions were mingled and infected by wars and emigrations: and the pestilential odour which burks for years in a bale of cotton, was imported, by the abuse of trade, into the most distant regions. The mode of its propagation is explained by the remark of Procopius himself: that it always spread from the sea-coust to the inland country; the most sequestered islands and mountains were successively visited; the places which had escaped the fury of its first passage, were alone exposed to the contagion of the enstring year. The winds might diffuse that subtle venom; but unless the atmosphere be previously disposed for its reception, the plague would soon expire in the cold or temperate climates of the carth. Such was the universal corruption of the nir, that the postbence which burst forth in the fifteenth year of Justinian was not checked or affectated by any difference of the seasons. In time, its first molignity was abated and dispersed; the disease alternately languished and revived; but it was not till the end of a calumitous period of fifty-two years, that mankind recovered their health, or the air resumed its pure and salubrious quality. No facts have been preserved to sustain an account, or even a conjecture, of the numbers that perished in this extraordinary mostality. I only find, that during three menths, five, and at length ten thousand persons died each day at Constantinople; that many ci-

ties of the East were left vacant, and that in several districts of Italy the harvest and the vint-

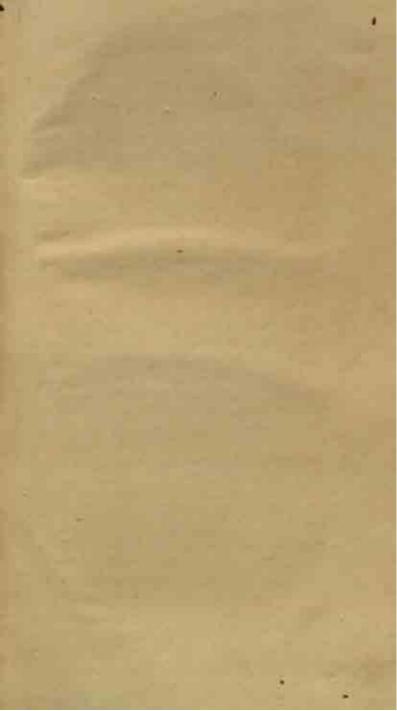
CHAP.

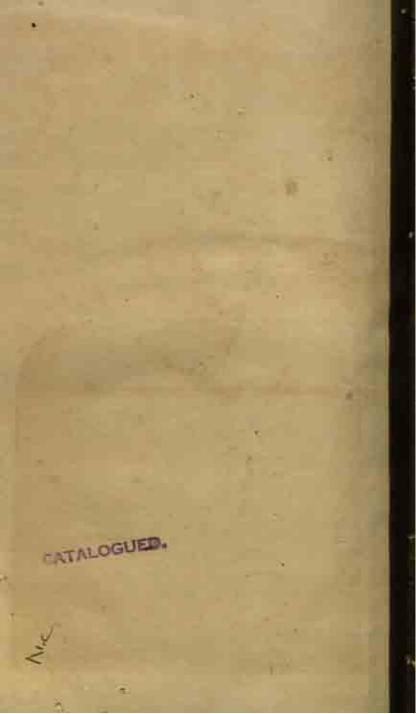
age withered on the ground. The triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine, afflicted the subjects of Justinian, and his reign is disgraced by a visible decrease of the human species, which has never been repaired in some of the fairest countries of the globe."

* After some figures of chotory, the smalls of the cost by frompuss (America, c. 19) attempts a more definite or out a that people puss (America, c. 19) attempts a more definite or out a that people demon. The expression is obscure as grammer and strainfelds, and a literal interpretation would be dure to seem million of million Alemanus, (p. 80); and Consin, (toro in, p. 1785; translate this poage, "two hundred millions," and I am have not defined as If we drop the people's, the termining people provides imprist of myrade, would furnish use number trailing, a number see whill passingless.









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